RICE $1.50

JULY 13, 1984

John McLaughlin on
REAGAN AND WOMEN
—See page 23

NATIONAL REVIEW

MG0770202703 0418413 P 026 G
MR E ROY SMITH
20 BELLE AIR RD
COLORADO SPGS CO 80906

MERICA'S RISING SUN

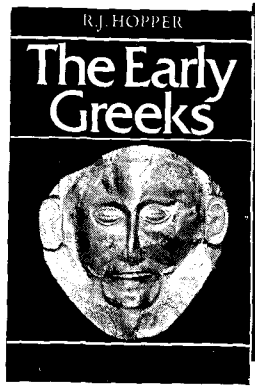
-Thomas Wendel

WAS THE CONSTITUTION A GOOD IDEA?

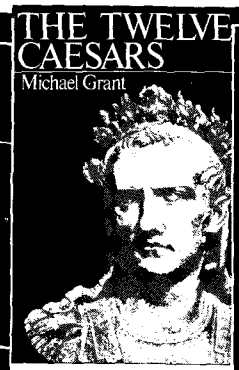
-Lino A. Graglia

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

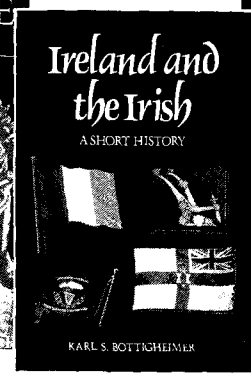
SAVINGS THAT GO DOWN IN HISTORY



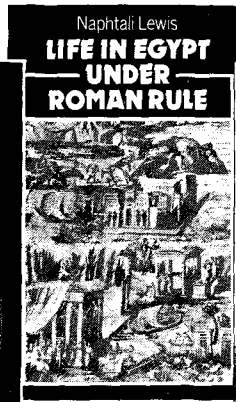
5504. $25.00/**$13.00**



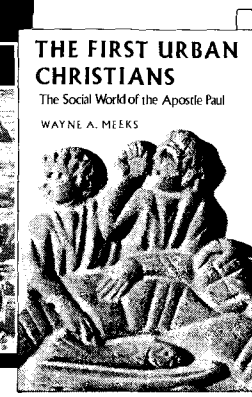
5652. $15.95/**$10.95**



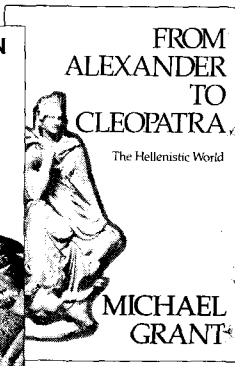
5827. $19.95/**$13.50**



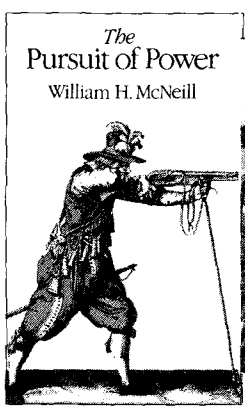
8912. $29.95/**$19.95**



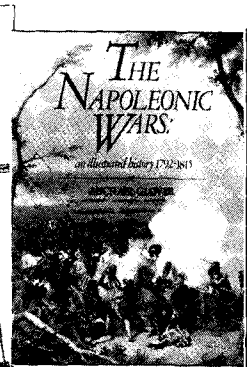
6585. $19.95/**$13.95**



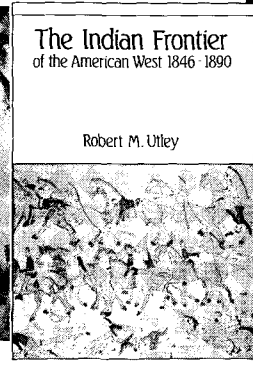
5736. $19.95/**$13.95**



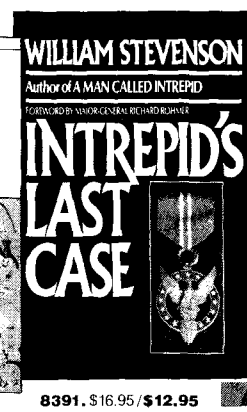
5595. $20.00/**$13.95**



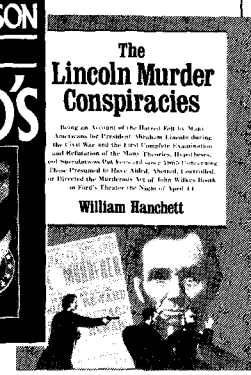
7849. $22.50/**$12.95**



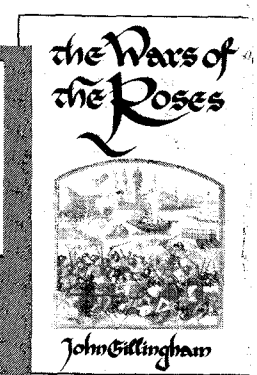
8490. $19.95/**$13.95**



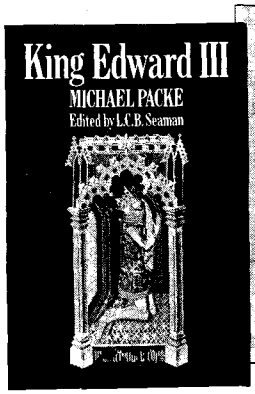
8391. $16.95/**$12.95**



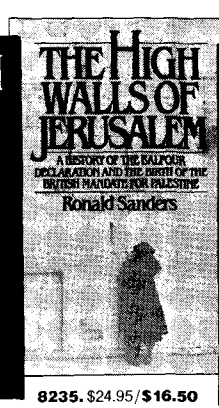
7559. $18.50/**$13.50**



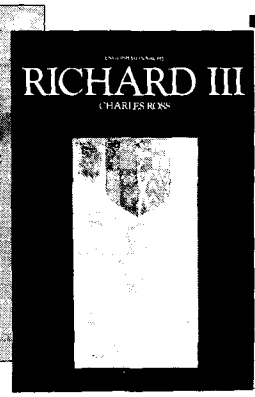
4820. $20.00/**$13.50**



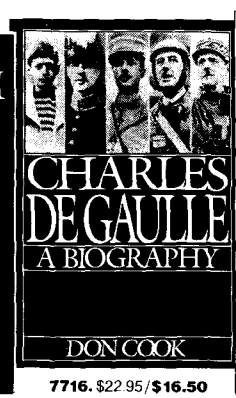
6650. $24.95/**$17.95**


THE HIGH WALLS OF JERUSALEM
A HISTORY OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION AND THE BIRTH OF THE BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE
Ronald Sanders

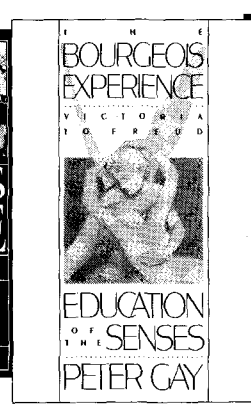
8235. $24.95/**$16.50**



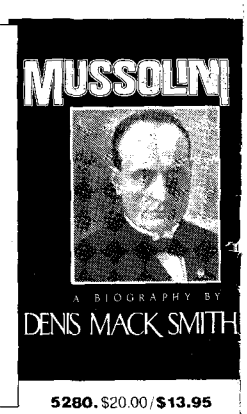
4663. $24.50/**$13.95**



7716. $22.95/**$16.50**



8110. $25.00/**$16.50**



5280. $20.00/**$13.95**

TAKE ANY 3 FOR 99¢ EACH

(values up to $94.95 with trial membership)

No matter what areas of history you enjoy reading about most, you'll find that The History Book Club offers some of the finest selections being published today. And no book club we know of offers greater savings—an average of 33% off publishers' list prices.

You can save even more now by taking advantage of our introductory offer. Select any 3 books on this page for just 99¢ each (values up to $94.95) when you take a fourth book at the low members' price. Your total savings as a trial member, including this introductory offer, can be more than 50%.

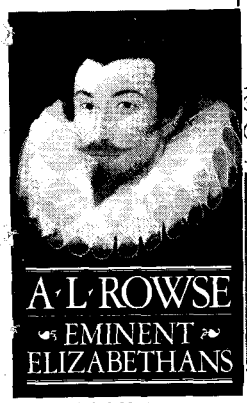
How the Club Works: As a Club member, you'll be able to choose from the 150-200 books featured each month. Our books are always equal to the publishers' editions, never "economy reprints," and available a savings of $3, $4, $5, or more off bookstore prices. You need take onl four more books in the next two years, after which you'll save even mor through bonus books which you may choose from our entire list.

Every four weeks (13 times a year) you will receive our *Review* and dated reply card. If you want the Editors' Choice, do nothing, the book wi come automatically. If you want another book, or no book at all, return th card by the date specified. (Book shipments will be charged to you account at low members' prices, plus postage-and-packing.)

If you should get an unwanted book because you had less than 10 day to decide, you may return it and pay nothing. We guarantee postage.

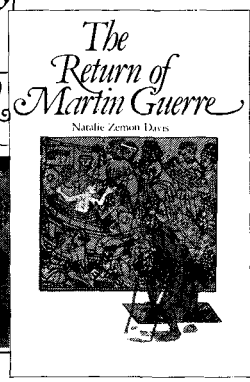
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

First price is publishers' list.
Boldface shows members' price.

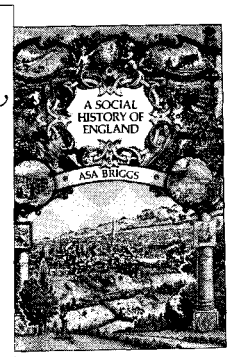


8144. $19.00/**$13.50**

5462. $12.50/**$8.50**



8672. $15.00/**$11.95**



7450. $25.00/**$16.50**

FALLEN EMPIRES, FLOURISHING LEGACIES

4952. **Robin Hood.** *By J.C. Holt.* The author has succeeded in shifting fact from fiction to provide the most thorough representation of Robin Hood yet. $17.95/**$12.50**

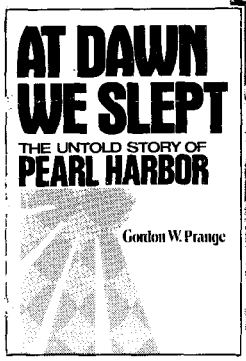
7252. **The Shadow Warriors: O.S.S. And The Origins Of The CIA.** *By Bradley F. Smith.* $20.75/**$14.95**

5710. **Family Names: How Our Surnames Came To America.** *By J. N. Hook, Ph.D.* An informative sampler, which traces the origins and meanings of a multitude of American surnames. $16.95/**$11.95**

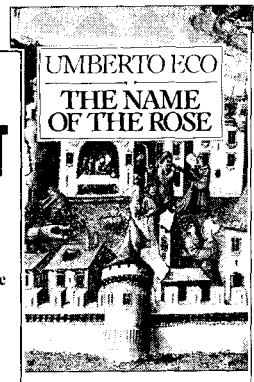
7096. **The Lisle Letters: An Abridgement.** *Edited by Muriel St. Clare Byrne.* A look at Tudor life through the eyes of Edward IV's illegitimate son. $25.00/**$16.00**

8219. **The Winged Gospel: America's Romance With Aviation, 1900-1950.** *By Joseph J. Corn.* $17.95/**$12.95**

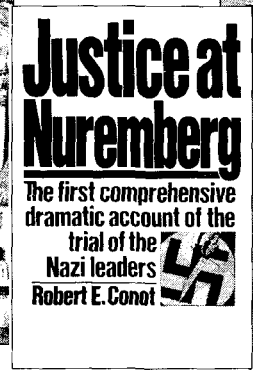
8300. **Miracle In The Early Christian World: A Study In Sociohistorical Method.** *By Howard Clark Kee.* $22.50/**$15.00**



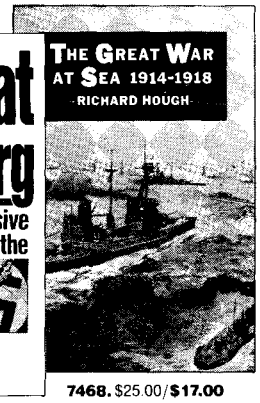
3970. $22.95/**$14.95**



6833. $15.95/**$11.95**



7021. $22.50/**$15.95**



7468. $25.00/**$17.00**

AGGRESSION, CONFLICT AND DIPLOMACY

8193. **The Alliance: America, Europe, Japan, Makers Of The Post War World.** *By Richard Barnet.* $19.95/**$13.95**

6502. **Statesman And Saint: Cardinal Wolsey, Sir Thomas More And The Politics Of Henry VIII.** *By Jasper Ridley.* $20.75/**$14.50**

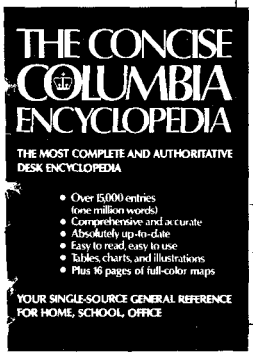
8284. **The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe.** *By James Chambers.* $11.95/**$8.95**

8268. **The Making Of The New Deal: The Insiders Speak.** *Edited by Katie Louchheim.* $20.00/**$14.00**

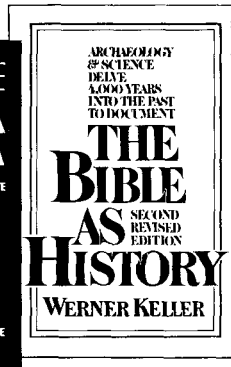
8458. **The Children Of Pride: Abridged Edition, Selected Letters Of The Family Of The Rev. Dr. Charles Colcock Jones From 1860-1868.** *Edited By Robert Manson Myers.* $25.00/**$17.00**

8631. **The Great Cat Massacre: And Other Epidoses In French Cultural History.** *By Robert Darnton.* $17.95/**$12.95**

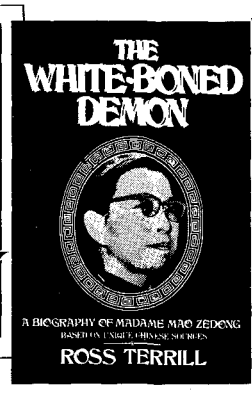
8151. **Hawaii Under The Rising Sun: Japan's Plans For Conquest After Pearl Harbor.** *By John J. Stephan.* $16.95/**$11.95**


THE CONCISE COLUMBIA ENCYCLOPEDIA
THE MOST COMPLETE AND AUTHORITATIVE DESK ENCYCLOPEDIA
• Over 15,000 entries (one million words)
• Comprehensive and accurate
• Absolutely up-to-date
• Easy to read, easy to use
• Tables, charts, and illustrations
• Plus 16 pages of full-color maps
YOUR SINGLE-SOURCE GENERAL REFERENCE FOR HOME, SCHOOL, OFFICE

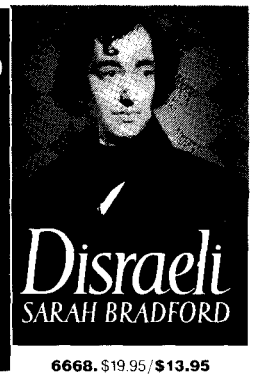
A8102. $29.95/**$19.95**
(counts as 2 selections)


ARCHAEOLOGY & SCIENCE DELVE 4,000 YEARS INTO THE PAST TO DOCUMENT
THE BIBLE AS HISTORY
SECOND REVISED EDITION
WERNER KELLER

3012. $14.95/**$10.95**



8870. $18.95/**$13.50**



6668. $19.95/**$13.95**

SHAPING HISTORY: THE MEN AND THE ISSUES

6239. **The Wheels Of Commerce: 15th To 18th Century Civilizaton And Capitalism, Volume 2.** *By Fernand Braudel.* $35.00/**$15.95**

4911. **The Structures Of Everyday Life: The Limits Of The Possible, 15th-18th Century.** *By Fernand Braudel.* $30.00/**$15.50**

8417. **War In Val D'Orcia, 1943-1944: A Diary.** *By Iris Origo.* $14.95/**$11.95**

7419. **In The Shadow Of FDR: From Harry Truman To Ronald Reagan.** *By William C. Leuchtenburg.* $19.95/**$13.95**

6155. **Keepers Of The Keys: A History Of The Popes From St. Peter To John Paul II.** *By Nicolas Cheetham.* $19.95/**$14.50**

8383. **Revolution In Time: Clocks And The Making Of The Modern World.** *By David S. Landes.* $20.00/**$14.00**

3228. **Grant: A Biography.** *By William S. McFeely.* Treats both the military and political careers. $19.95/**$12.95**

CASP84C

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB, Dept. N, 40 Guernsey Street, Box 790, Stamford, CT 06904

Please enroll me as a trial member and send me the four books whose numbers I have entered below. Bill those on the left at 99¢ each and the fourth at the low members' price, plus postage-and-packing.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

I may return the books within three weeks at your expense and owe nothing. Or, I will buy four more selections within the next two years (not counting my choices above). Membership is cancellable anytime thereafter. All Club purchases are at low members' prices, and a postage-and-packing fee is added to all shipments.

In Canada: Mail to U.S. address.

Print Name _____

Address _____ Apt. # _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

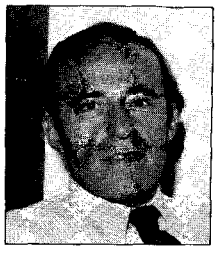
NZ-13SK

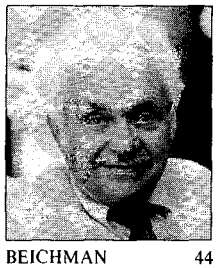
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULY 13, 1984
VOL. XXXVI, NO. 13

NATIONAL REVIEW

WENDEL 26


GRAGLIA 34


BEICHMAN 44

BUCKLEY 47

THE COVER

26 America's Rising Sun
The Founding Fathers had more than political plans for the United States: They envisioned America as a whole new civilization, in which the arts, sciences, and letters would flourish as never before. This vision had its roots in a rich cultural life of which little has been written, but of which some knowledge is indispensable to any understanding of the impulses that formed this country at the moment of its first independence. *Thomas Wendel*

34 Was the Constitution a Good Idea?
Nothing in the Constitution gives any judge the authority to overrule any act by any other government official. Yet we now acquiesce in the constant usurpation of power by the "least dangerous" branch of government. The Supreme Court has assumed unlimited and undefined power, which it sometimes uses even to contradict the plain meaning of the document it purports to be interpreting. The Founders would have been not only appalled but amazed at what has been done with their words. *Lino A. Graglia*

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

23 Reagan and Women
The gender gap is real—but it's not the President's problem, it's Walter Mondale's. *John McLaughlin*

24 Le Chrysler Baron
Lee Iacocca is a new kind of robber baron: Instead of lowering prices, *à la* John D. Rockefeller, he stiffs the consumer along with the competition. Liberals love him. *Tom Bethell*

25 Good News from Central America
In both El Salvador and Nicaragua, the Communists are shrinking from elections like Dracula from a crucifix. And thanks to U.S. pressure, El Salvador's army has become both more effective and more humane. *Brian Crozier*

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

42 **Joseph Sobran** finds a lot to agree with in Germaine Greer's *Sex and Destiny*. If only she'd quit calling collectivism a capitalist plot. . . . **Arnold Beichman** looks into an account of practical techniques of *Dezinformatsia*. They work too. . . . **Jeffrey Hart** marvels at Joseph Campbell's study of myth. . . . How would the Western media respond if the Soviets announced the resurrection of Lenin? A new novel raises the question—hilariously, says **Priscilla L. Buckley**. . . . **Terry Teachout** likes the words as well as the music of Ned Rorem. . . . Did Louis Armstrong desert jazz for entertainment? Yes, says a new book. No! thunders **Ralph de Toledano**. . . . **John Simon** lashes *Indiana Jones* and fans *The Natural*. . . . "How'm I doin'?" Pretty damn good, Your Honor, says **D. Keith Mano**.

6 LETTERS
12 FOR THE RECORD
13 THE WEEK
32 hello?
40 ABROAD
50 THE RIGHT BOOKS
54 ON THE RIGHT
58 TRANS-O-GRAM

Cover design by Colleen Lawlor

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1984. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: $29.00 a year (25 issues). Add $6.25 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This one book distills the conservative wisdom of two centuries. You can buy it in a bookstore for $17.95.

Or you can take it here, FREE

THE PORTABLE CONSERVATIVE READER

New volume in Viking's celebrated "Portable Library" • Selected, with introduction and commentary, by Russell Kirk

57 generous selections by 44 distinguished authors from Edmund Burke to Irving Kristol • includes British and American writers over the past two centuries • 766 pages • Index

Who better than Russell Kirk to present this monumental collection? Since his *Conservative Mind* launched the modern conservative intellectual movement three decades ago, Dr. Kirk has stood tall as the leading interpreter of traditional conservative thought of the Anglo-American variety. Now, from a lifetime of reading and reflection, he offers us the jewels, in 17 generous sections:

The Tension of Order and Freedom
American Liberty Under Law
The Reply of Poets
Southern Conservatism
American Democratic Leveling
Against Utilitarian Radicalism
Progress and Human Frailty
Legal and Historical Conservatism
Conservative Impulses Amid American Materialism
The Crumbling Country House
The Fabulists
Critical Conservatism
Conservatism Between Two Wars
A Bent World
Women's Conservative Vision
The Wisdom of Our Ancestors
Resistance and Hope

44 authors — many of them giants, others rescued from obscurity with this volume

Edmund Burke ★ John Adams ★ Alexander Hamilton ★ Fisher Ames ★ Samuel Taylor Coleridge ★ Robert Southey ★ John Randolph ★ John T. Calhoun ★ James Fenimore Cooper ★ Alexis de Tocqueville ★ Thomas Babington Macauley ★ Benjamin Disraeli ★ John Henry Newman ★ Walter Bagehot ★ Nathaniel Hawthorne ★ Orestes Brownson ★ Henry Maine ★ W.E.H. Lecky ★ Edwin Lawrence Godkin ★ Henry Adams ★ Brooks Adams ★ Robert Louis Stevenson ★ W.H. Mallock ★ George Gissing ★ George Saintsbury ★ Joseph Conrad ★ Rudyard Kipling ★ Paul Elmer More ★ Irving Babbitt ★ George Santayana ★ Christopher Dawson ★ T.S. Eliot ★ C.S. Lewis ★ Donald Davidson ★ James McAuley ★ John Betjeman ★ Freya Stark ★ Phyllis McGinley ★ Jacquetta Hawkes ★ Michael Oakeshott ★ Malcolm Muggeridge ★ Irving Kristol ★ Robert Nisbet ★ Russell Kirk

How many of these important writings have you read and mastered?

Almost certainly, not all of them — if only because some have just been rediscovered by Russell Kirk.

And for most conservatives, this will be a first exposure to more than a few of the richest writings of our heritage. How deeply do you really know that heritage? Isn't this collection the ideal introduction to dozens of key ideas?

Not only that, but you're almost certain to discover many books and authors you'll want to know better. This book unlocks treasures.

How to get this $17.95 volume FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a *Featured Selection* without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computer! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, NY 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, free and postpaid, the $17.95 *Portable Conservative Reader.* I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

NR-50

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*
William A. Rusher *Publisher*
James P. McFadden
Consultant to the Editor

Editors
Richard Brookhiser / James Burnham
Jeffrey Hart / Joseph Sobran
Priscilla L. Buckley *Managing Editor*

Executive Editors
Linda Bridges *Assistant Managing Editor*
Kevin Lynch *(Articles)*
John McLaughlin *(Washington)*
Chilton Williamson Jr.
(Books, Arts & Manners)

Associate Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
Werner J. Dannhauser / W. H. von Dreele
Nika Hazelton / D. Keith Mano
Michael Novak / Walter Olson
William F. Rickenbacker / John Simon
Ernest van den Haag / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associates
Catherine M. Shea
Jane Buckley Smith / Lacey Washington
Ione Whitlock

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
Colleen Lawlor *Art Director*
Anna Lieber *Production Editor*
Dorothy B. Humanitzki *Copy Editor*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Circulation Manager
Robert Garvey

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / Ruth Berenson
David Brudnoy / John Chamberlain
John R. Coyne Jr. / Dinesh D'Souza
David Evanier / M. Stanton Evans
Mary Gauerke / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Donald Hall
Malcolm Hancock / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Nicholas King
Jan Lukas / Forrest McDonald
Charles Burton Marshall / Thomas Molnar
Gerhart Niemeyer / Joseph A. Rehyansky
Alan Reynolds / Selden Rodman
Francis Russell / Morrie Ryskind
Michael Scully / Terry Teachout
Ralph de Toledano / S. L. Varnado
Charles Wallen Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Nena Ossa *Santiago*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*

LETTERS

Supply-Side Success

Three cheers for George Gilder and his continued defense of supply-side economics ["What Ronald Reagan Doesn't Know about His Own Achievements," June 29]. His points seem unanswerable. The frustrating thing is that he and other supply-siders are speaking into a vacuum. The media establishment seldom goes so far as to mention supply-side economic theories—and when it does, it ridicules them, never arguing the issues seriously. The average person, basing his opinion on the normal news sources, comes to think that supply-side economics is long dead, or that it only existed in the first place as a rhetorical trick, a 1980 campaign hoax. For this reason, if for no other, the Reagan Administration ought to be more loyal to its supply-side policies. To the extent that it is disloyal, it encourages the belief that it is dishonest.

Diana Granger
Rochester, N.Y.

Duarte's Courage

One can completely disagree with Salvadoran President-elect Duarte's political and economic policies. What one cannot do, as you did in a recent editorial ["Now Duarte," June 1], is call him spineless. At least that is not the word I would choose to describe a man who, having suffered imprisonment and torture for his political views, nonetheless continued to fight for them in a country in which political assassinations had become a way of life.

James L. Buckley
President
Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
Munich, West Germany

A Dissent

Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn's obituary on Karl Rahner [June 1] is likely to be seriously misleading to anyone not familiar with Rahner's life and work.

On the most obvious level, it is not altogether true that Rahner "never called a press conference to complain about his 'human rights' being infringed and he didn't cry on the shoulders of the enemies of Christ." In his later years Rahner was frequently quoted in the media taking sharp and occasionally bad-tempered jabs at the Vatican, sometimes accompanied by complaints of being unappreciated. His remarks focused on issues where the media were anxious to exploit Catholic divisions (e.g., the ordination of women).

The author's claim that Rahner was held in suspicion only because some Vatican officials did not know German is disingenuous. Telling criticisms of Rahner's work have been made by some of the most outstanding German-speaking theologians of the age, notably Hans Urs von Balthasar and Josef Cardinal Ratzinger.

It is true that Rahner himself for the most part eschewed political comment. However, his theories regarding the relationship between Church and world were such that those of his disciples (e.g., Johann Baptist Metz) who took them in a leftward direction could legitimately claim that they were being faithful to the master.

Nor was all this merely peripheral. Some of Rahner's central ideas—the anonymous Christian, universal grace, diaspora Christianity—have at best an ambiguous relationship to the authentic Catholic tradition. It remains to be seen whether Rahner's work strengthened and deepened Catholic thought or contributed to its decline.

Certainly Rahner was far superior in every way to Hans Küng, whom he sometimes criticized. But if John Paul II is the rallying point for those committed to the authentic renewal of the Catholic Church, Rahner in his last years was sometimes a rallying point on the other side.

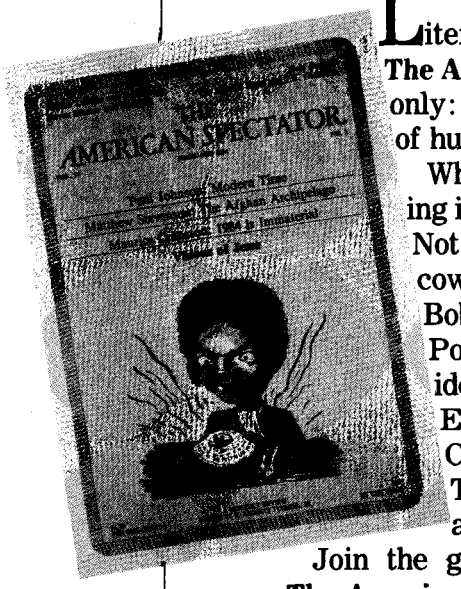
James Hitchcock
St. Louis, Mo.

Reversing Discrimination

Re Professor Harvey Mansfield Jr.'s "The Underhandedness of Affirmative Action" [May 4]: Why are those who so vehemently despise what is law not learning history? Minorities of all types and the female sex have faced and continue to face discrimination in America. Professor Mansfield somehow assumes that racism is at a low and hence there is no need for affirmative action, whether "soft" or "hard." What he fails to realize is that it *was* affirmative action which has caused the decline in institutional racism and sexism. Obviously we can't eliminate racial attitudes, but we can certainly pre-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American Spectator is nervy with impudent opinions about politics, culture, and ideology.



Literate in its writing, independent in its thinking, **The American Spectator** is predictable in one respect only: It appeals to your intelligence and your sense of humor.

While **The American Spectator** takes delight in being irreverently funny, it can also be deadly serious. Not only does it take on the liberal media's sacred cows—Betty Friedan, Ralph Nader, Tip O'Neill, Bob Dole, Environmentalism, The New Industrial Policy—but it presents thoughtful analyses of ideas and people the media denigrate—Supply-Side Economics, Deregulation, the new Civil Rights Commission, Marva Collins, Thomas Sowell, Arthur Koestler, and Ronald Reagan.

Join the growing roster of subscribers to **The American Spectator**. The coupon contains an offer that will save you a heap of money. Mail it today.

" . . . nothing else quite like it on the American Scene."
—Irving Kristol

Election Year Special

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR
P.O. Box 1969, Bloomington, Indiana 47402

Open my trial subscription (8 giant, tabloid-sized issues) at your special money-saving price of only $11.95.

☐ Check for $11.95 enclosed. In return for my prepayment send me an additional issue. Full refund guaranteed if I don't like the first issue.

☐ Bill me for $11.95 (sorry, no additional issue). If I don't like my first issue I'll write cancel across the invoice, return it to you and owe nothing.

Name _____
(please print)

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

For subscriptions outside U.S. please add $4 for postage. 4NHA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Freedom to change, Brady style

BRADY

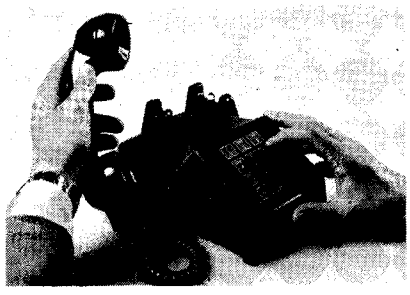
™ ADHESIVE AND GRAPHICS CHEMISTRY

Despite the many ways government at all levels increasingly intrudes in our business and personal lives, we still enjoy more freedom than most of the rest of the world.

Like *freedom to change,* just as Brady has recently done with its own corporate identity. In order to make businessmen more clearly aware of who we are, and what we do, two steps have been taken.

• First, development of a new corporate signature, logo, symbol and slogan. You see it above, and you'll soon be seeing it in our ads, packaging, letterheads, signs, and calling cards.

• Second, a colorful new corporate brochure that tells you who we are, how we got started and what we make, and where we make and sell it. We'll be pleased to send you a copy.



Brady LiteTouch™ low voltage membrane switches combine contemporary graphics and solid state electronic technology in a sealed package. Just one of many innovative Brady products for industry and business. Perhaps you'll see a place to put Brady to work in your company as you review our new corporate brochure.

WBC-6

BRADY

™ ADHESIVE AND GRAPHICS CHEMISTRY

W. H. BRADY CO.
727 W. Glendale Avenue
P. O. Box 571, Milwaukee, WI 53201

vent the practicing of those attitudes with laws such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and, for women, its Title VII. Minorities do not ask for whites to feel guilty; no, we only ask that Professor Mansfield obey the law and his own conscience. If he still isn't swayed by what I have written, then one must ask him this: What is the alternative? Voluntary compliance? Before men such as Professor Mansfield gripe about government intrusion they had also better gripe about government subsidies of the tobacco industry and tax loopholes to business. Now that truly would be "affirmative action."

Bernard Udo
New York University '85
New York, N.Y.

Harvey C. Mansfield Jr. is right on target, as well as being timely. A good example of the current situation is to be found in Pittsburgh, where officials have been accused by feminists of discrimination against women because women seeking to become firefighters have generally not passed a test that consisted of dragging a weighted sack (representing a victim needing rescue in a fire) a certain distance. It has been decided to change the test to one that women can pass, thereby demonstrating that the city is an Equal Employment Opportunity adherent, despite the fact that the percentage of anticipated unrescued victims has already been calculated.

Apparently it is more important to avoid the stigma of discrimination, however fatuous, than to afford maximum life protection to persons of whatever sex in emergencies.

(Rev.) Marcus O'Brien
St. Ladislaus Church
Beaver Falls, Pa.

My heartfelt thanks to Harvey Mansfield for finally daring to demonstrate the hypocrisy of discriminating on the basis of sex or race while loudly proclaiming that one is in fact opposing or redressing discrimination. However, I fear that even the residual tribute of vice to virtue described by Professor Mansfield is no longer paid. He writes: "As a policy, it cannot claim success, because to announce an 'affirmative-action appointment' as such is to insult the recipient by implying that he would not have got it on merit." This, however, is exactly what is done, for example, at Stanford University, with which I am familiar by virtue of my work at the Hoover Institution.

Stanford publishes a glossy annual report and six-weekly updates on the "progress" of "affirmative action," in which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it is openly stated that the composition of faculty and staff ought to reflect better the "broader society." Among other interesting facts, one learns from these reports that there exists an Affirmative Action Fund, the purpose of which is to identify, bring for interview, and recruit women and minority candidates and only such candidates. Although no department in the humanities or social sciences is expected to grow at all over the next ten years, nevertheless extra positions can be created with money from this fund.

Furthermore, the reports openly state that job descriptions can and will be rewritten to make hiring of minority candidates possible, and indeed that merit neither is nor ought to be the sole criterion in evaluation. Since there are general reasons to doubt that merit has been the sole criterion in a number of cases, it is at least refreshing to see this spelled out by the university administration. The assumption, of course, is that minority appointments will not take place in "sufficient" numbers unless criteria of merit are abandoned. The effect of this condescending attitude on hired or prospective minority candidates themselves can only be guessed, but it can hardly be uplifting.

David Gress
Stanford, Calif.

Lithuanian Strength

Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn's column [May 4] on "The Baltic Nations' Struggle" was a good synopsis of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian culture and history. Nevertheless, Kuehnelt-Leddihn does mislead unintentionally on two matters.

First, Latvia, not Estonia, faces the most precarious demographic future, as the following comparisons of the percentages of population belonging to the republic's nationality reveal: Estonia—1939 (88.2 per cent), 1980 (64.5 per cent); Latvia—1939 (75.5 per cent), 1980 (53.5 per cent); Lithuania—1939 (80.6 per cent), 1980 (80.1 per cent).

The second matter regards the author's contention that "Lithuania has the brightest prospects, because of its high birth rate and its overwhelming loyalty to the Catholic Church." Such historical allegiance has indeed strengthened Lithuanian resistance to Sovietization, and a high birth rate has helped. However, the direction that industrialization took in Soviet-occupied Lithuania played a key role in preserving ethnic homogeneity.

The 1946-53 guerrilla war against the Soviets in Lithuania delayed any economic redevelopment and potential integration with the rest of the USSR's economy. With the emergence of Khrushchev

ROOSEVELT AND CHURCHILL:
A TALE OF TWO MARTINIS.

Concerning affairs of state, these two great statesmen were frequently of a single mind.

But in the mixing of martinis, there was a parting of the ways.

FDR enjoyed his martini in the then-traditional manner: two parts gin to one part vermouth. Sir Winston, his friend and ally, acknowledged the traditional role of vermouth merely by glancing at the vermouth bottle as he poured the gin.

History would appear to be on Churchill's side. Which is not surprising. After all, who knows more about gin than the English?

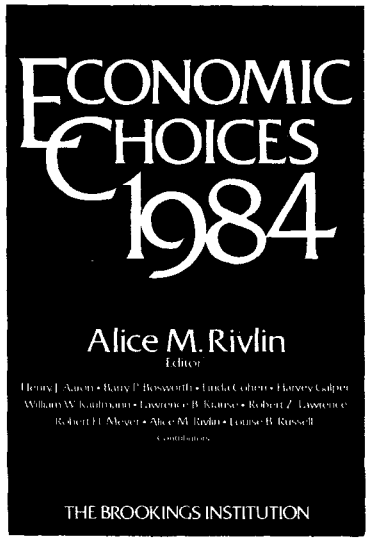
IMPORTED FROM ENGLAND BY KOBRAND CORP., N.Y. N.Y. 94 PROOF 100% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS

BEEFEATER® GIN.
The Crown Jewel of England.™

The authors of this important new volume lay out a plan for:

- cutting the federal deficit
- increasing flexibility in domestic spending
- improving the effectiveness of defense spending
- reforming the federal tax system

They also suggest ways to cope with structural change in American industry and to reverse recent increases in poverty.



1984/171 pages/$8.95 paper/$22.95 cloth

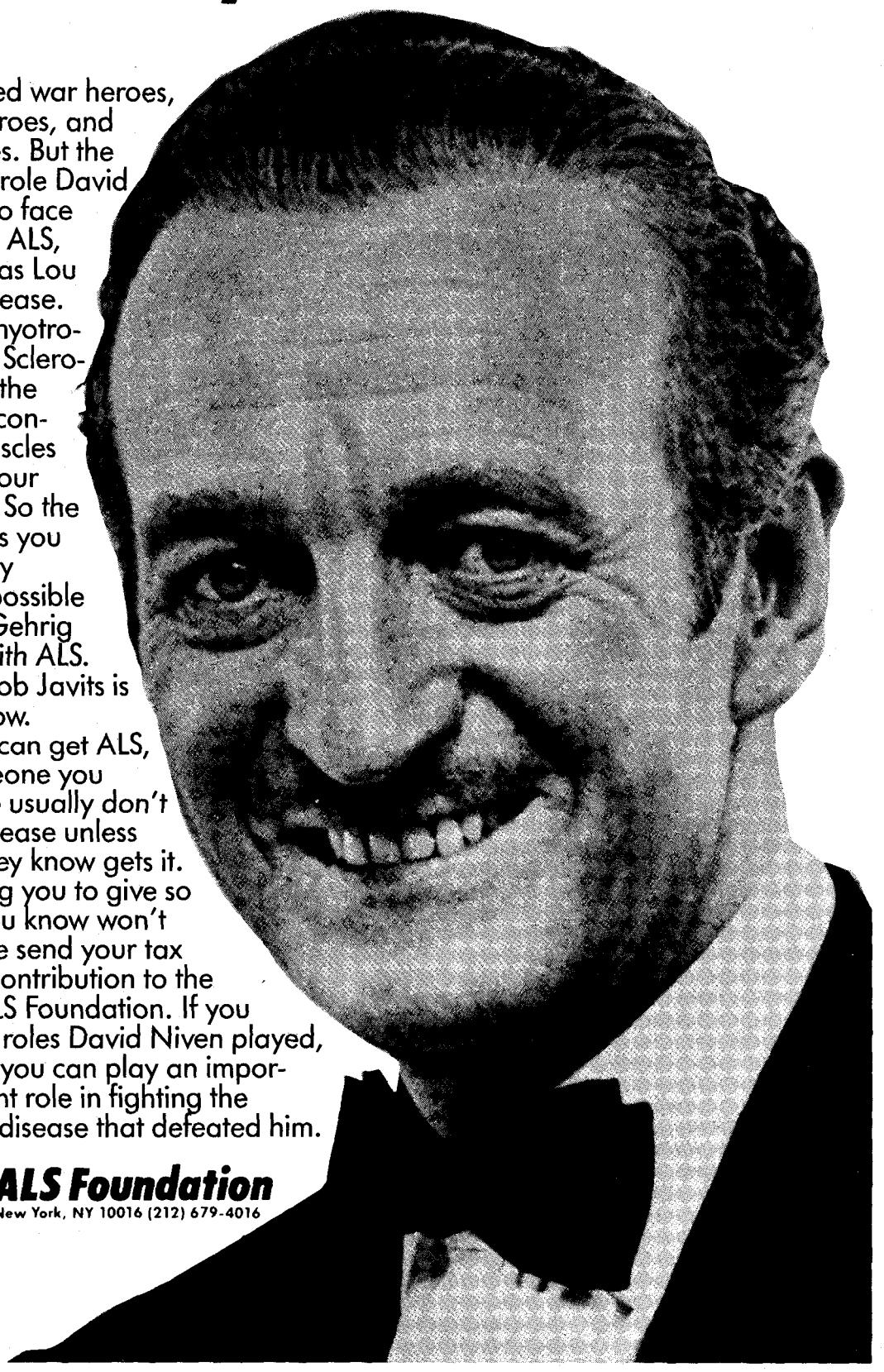
At bookstores or directly from

BROOKINGS

The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALS isn't just Lou Gehrig's disease, Or David Niven's disease. It's everyone's disease.



He played war heroes, romantic heroes, and comic heroes. But the most heroic role David Niven had to face was fighting ALS, also known as Lou Gehrig's disease.

ALS—Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis—attacks the nerves that control your muscles but leaves your mind intact. So the simple things you do every day become impossible to do. Lou Gehrig struck out with ALS. Senator Jacob Javits is battling it now.

Anyone can get ALS, you or someone you love. People usually don't give to a disease unless someone they know gets it. We're asking you to give so someone you know won't get it. Please send your tax deductible contribution to the National ALS Foundation. If you enjoyed the roles David Niven played, now you can play an important role in fighting the disease that defeated him.

National ALS Foundation

185 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016 (212) 679-4016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and his decentralization experiment, the Lithuanian Communist Party (LiCP) under First Secretary Antanas Snieckus found itself able to gain greater control of the republic's institutions.

In essence Snieckus was able to promote republic (Lithuanian) interests as opposed to all-Union demands. He was even successful in sabotaging Khrushchev's plans for Lithuania to become a corn producer and not remain the traditional dairy producer that well suited the local economy and resources. In addition, Snieckus managed to relocate heavier industry out in the rural countryside, where an abundant Lithuanian labor pool could be utilized so as to forestall the need to import any Russian colonists to work the factories.

Raymond Paskauskas
Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. Toledano Replies

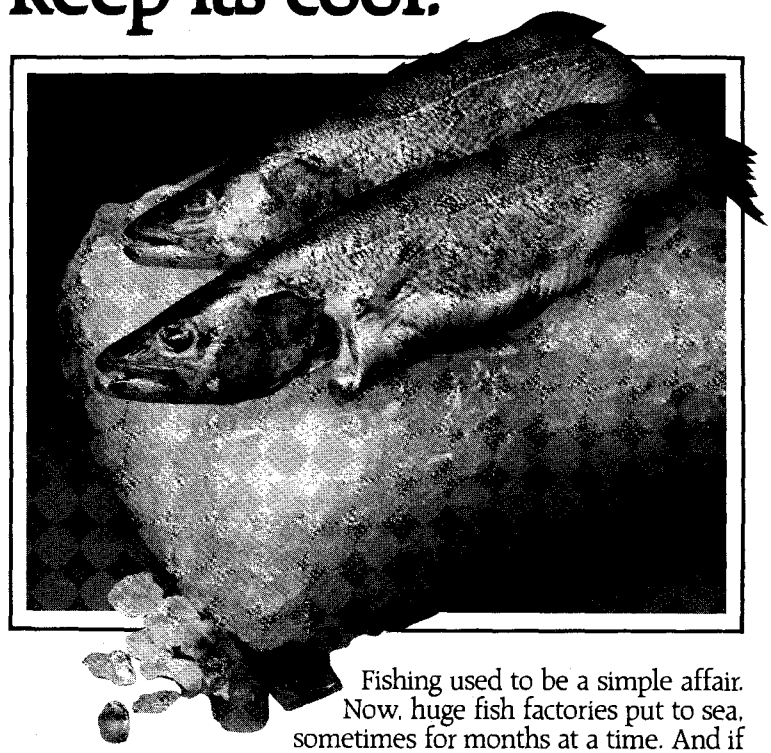
I have always held Sidney Hook in very high esteem, though I have never been able to understand his persistent attachment to "democratic socialism" or his nervousness at the mention of God. He, too, deserves the Medal of Freedom, and not only for his words and action during the anti-anti-Communist hysteria of the mid-1950s. But I am a little puzzled by his letter to *NR* [June 15] in which he takes exception to my remarks at the Heritage Foundation seminar on Whittaker Chambers.

In the first place, I nowhere stated that the telephone conversation he questions took place in 1948, as Professor Hook writes. I said only that he had called me at the height of the Hiss-Chambers controversy. Secondly, Professor Hook's contention that he could not have said what I said he said because the "first mention of God by Chambers was in his autobiography, *Witness*, published in 1952," hardly conforms with the facts. A review of Whittaker Chambers's words on and off the witness stand will bear this out.

I see no point in debating the *date* of the telephone call, which Professor Hook disputes. The *substance* of our conversation, as recalled by me, does no violence to what Sidney Hook feels and has said—and that's what matters. Sidney Hook holds that a belief in God is irrelevant in a democratic society. Whittaker Chambers held that "political freedom is a political reading of the Bible." The drafters of the Declaration of Independence, who invoked God as the bestower of our rights as free men, would have agreed with Whittaker Chambers.

Ralph de Toledano
Washington, D.C.

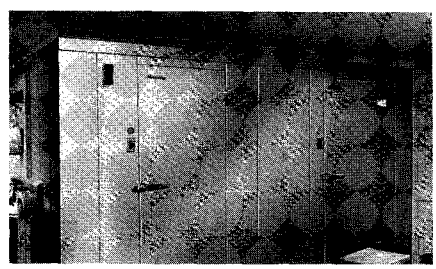
Fish isn't the only thing that has to keep its cool.



Fishing used to be a simple affair. Now, huge fish factories put to sea, sometimes for months at a time. And if the fish don't stay cool, next year's annual report isn't going to look so hot. That's why you'll find Vollrath coolers and freezers on board. It's just one of the hundreds of applications where Vollrath quality makes the difference.

Vollrath has designed, built, and now stocks 120 standard models of indoor and outdoor walk-in coolers and freezers, as well as mobile buffets, refrigerated warehouses, and specialized refrigeration systems. Today, Vollrath coolers and freezers are used by restaurants, schools, hospitals, supermarkets, convenience stores, bakeries, florists, mortuaries, hotels, and manufacturing and processing plants . . . around the world.

If you would like more information about quality refrigeration systems, contact Terry Kohler, CEO.



Vollrath's modular panel design makes construction simple and expandable.

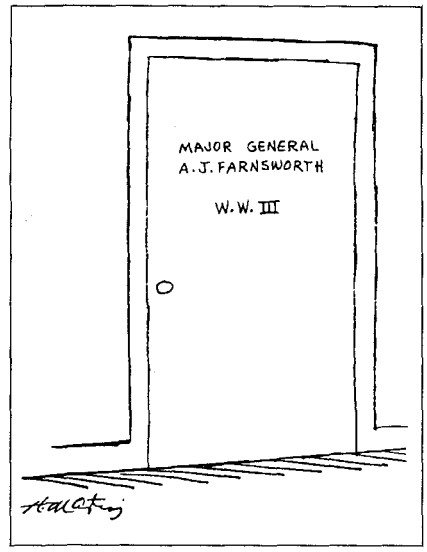
VOLLRATH

The Vollrath Company
1236 North 18th Street • P.O. Box 611 • Sheboygan, WI 53081
Telephone: 414-457-4851

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

Give 'em hell, Walter. Turn '84 around and what does **Walter Mondale** get? A victory over Ronald Reagan, just like the one **Harry Truman** scored over **Thomas Dewey** in 1948. Mondale told a union audience in San Francisco: "We start behind but I think very quickly we will see momentum." Truman's idea, said Mondale, was that when people are aroused and have a leader who's on their side, "all the money and all the polls can't stop him. That's exactly what I'm going to do in 1984!" Mondale will soon meet with **Gary Hart**, and subject of Vice Presidency is sure to come up. According to June 14 Gallup poll, majority of Democrats (59 per cent) favor Hart for Mondale's Veep. **George McGovern** says Mondale-Hart ticket would be strongest for Democrats and "quickest way" to heal party rift. . . . Only problem is Hart still won't get out of race for Number One—and Mondale people aren't high on Hart. . . . New York Governor **Mario Cuomo** (D.) thinks **Ted Kennedy** should endorse Mondale before Convention to aid unity effort, but Kennedy hasn't shifted from neutral corner. . . . With primary season at end, **Jesse Jackson** isn't intent on healing wounds. At Philadelphia news conference, Jackson ridiculed the "PR parade of personalities" trooping to Mondale's Minnesota home and said the "last significant politician out of St. Paul-Minneapolis" was **Hubert Humphrey**. Jackson accused Mondale of "knuckling under" to Jewish groups on Mideast. . . . National Gay Rights Task Force is demanding a specific gay-rights plank in Democratic platform. If one isn't there, said Task Force director **Virginia Apuzzo**, there will be trouble for Walter Mondale. . . . Jesse Jackson is first (and so far only) Democratic presidential candidate to set up "gay desk" in his national headquarters.



Martin, *Punch* / Rothco

Ready for another tax cut? White House officials say there is "good likelihood" **Ronald Reagan** will propose an increase in $1,000 personal exemption this year or next. Earliest chance is at Republican Convention in Dallas. . . . Reaganism at its purest: That's what GOP insiders are calling Administration's planned statement at World Conference on Population scheduled for Mexico City in August. Administration's opposition to financing abortion abroad has gotten most media attention, but statement covers far more. Population growth isn't necessarily a problem, it says, oppressive government is. **James Buckley** is slated to head U.S. delegation to conference. . . . In North Carolina, incumbent Senator **Jesse Helms** (R.) is pulling ahead of Governor **Jim Hunt** (D.) by stressing, among other things, Hunt's ties to Jesse Jackson and his opposition to school prayer; back in October, Helms trailed Hunt by 19 percentage points. . . . Former Representative **Robert K. Dornan** won GOP primary in California's 38th Congressional District; he will face Rep. **Jerry Patterson**, a liberal Democrat, in November. California Governor **George Deukmejian** endorsed Dornan in primary because he felt only Dornan could defeat Patterson. . . . It's now official in Texas. The recount of the runoff is in and liberal state Senator **Lloyd Doggett** topped conservative Rep. **Kent Hance** to clinch Democratic senatorial nomination. . . . How does the rest of GOP ticket look in November? Speaking at breakfast hosted by Republican Communications Association, columnist **Robert Novak** said: "In 1984, the Republicans have a chance to make this a realigning election. There is no question the Democratic Party is in deep, deep trouble." Entire center of party, said Novak, "disappeared with election of **John Glenn**." But Novak said GOP opportunities could be squandered by overly cautious GOP leadership. . . . **Carlyle Gregory**, GOP field man for most of South, expects Republicans to do far better than expected in November congressional elections, thanks to Reagan—and Jesse Jackson. Jackson is, according to Gregory, driving white voters into the Republican Party. **Edward J. Rollins**, director of Reagan campaign, says GOP is spending $10 million to register new voters.

Afghan resistance leader, **Burhanuddin Rabbani**, told a Pakistan news conference that more than 1,000 Afghan civilians had been killed by Soviet assaults on Herat. **Lord Cranborne**, chairman of AfghanAid, London committee that sends humanitarian aid to Afghans, came to United States to discuss famine ravaging Afghanistan. Cranborne went to U.N. to ask that "international community . . . not stand idly by," inhibited by purely political considerations. (AfghanAid's address is: P.O. Box 279, London WC2H OLT.) . . . Favorable international reception given to **José Napoleón Duarte**, El Salvador's new president, is reported to be one of reasons Salvadoran guerrillas are becoming harsher with civilians. In recent months, armed guerrillas have been forcibly recruiting hundreds of youths. . . . Mexico sent Foreign Secretary **Sepulveda** to El Salvador for Duarte's inauguration, a sharp break with precedent: Mexico declined to send referees to either of the recent elections in El Salvador and is still, officially, backing the guerrillas.

Don't give up yet on the West. The Golden Rule Insurance Co. of Indianapolis is still refusing health coverage to lawyers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

☐ The perfect running-mate for Fritz Mondale would probably be Sister Boom Boom, a San Francisco . . . well, *personality*. Sister Boom Boom is actually a male transvestite who wears a nun's habit with lots of mascara and black tights. We don't know his position on the MX, but just about every other constituency Mondale has been wooing seems to converge in Sister Boom Boom.

☐ The counsel of Senators Baker and Percy ("We need a summit and we need it now") was probably motivated less by budding statesmanship and sweeping vision than by simple election-year politics. The Kremlin, of course, is never above engaging in the unseemly politics of peace. One day after the *Washington Post* had Reagan rebuffing his fellow Republicans, Kremlin spokesman Leonid Zamyatin stated at a press conference that Chernenko was prepared to meet with Reagan and negotiate a host of issues. The President's own press conference that same evening was dominated by questions about the possibility of a summit meeting. Unenthusiastic, to say the least, about Reagan's re-election, the Soviet leadership would like to raise false expectations about a summit meeting, only to generate disappointment when none takes place. Or conversely, to schedule a pre-election summit and then make certain it flops, so that the President's opponents can claim he lacks the ability to negotiate with the Soviets. President Reagan, to his credit, has recognized the risks and the needlessness of a hastily arranged election-year summit. While leaving the door open for reconvening arms-control negotiations, he has refused to heed the election-year piper's tune (of peace). After all, there will be plenty of time for him to meet with Chernenko after January 20, 1985—and only then will Chernenko negotiate with him seriously.

☐ Teddy Kennedy is one of Israel's staunchest supporters in Congress, so it was something of a milestone when he went out of his way, at a New York political gathering, to deny that Jesse Jackson's position on the Middle East is anti-Semitic. "I strongly disagree with Reverend Jackson on the issue of the Middle East," said Teddy, "but his position . . . is certainly not a proof of prejudice." Of course it isn't, but liberals don't usually go out of their way to let people off the hook this way. (Teddy didn't bother giving Ronald Reagan the benefit of doubt as to motives in charging that the Administration's policies are "for whites only" and are characterized by "hostility toward racial justice.") In short, Teddy declared the call for a separate Palestinian homeland—the Jackson position—legitimate within the Democratic Party. Look for more Jewish defections to Reagan this year.

☐ The Federal Government is finally getting around to doing something about the energy crisis it caused a decade ago. It is going to bury the five billion gasoline-rationing coupons it printed up at the time at a cost of $11 million.

☐ The people of Los Angeles had more on their minds than Fritz Mondale and Gary Hart when they went to the polls on June 5. They approved Proposition A by a landslide. Proposition A directs that a communication be sent to American and Soviet leaders stressing that adherence to the human-rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords is inseparable from the issue of nuclear arms. Martin Colman, chairman of the Committee for the Bilateral Nuclear Weapons and Human Rights Declaration, which got Proposition A on the ballot, comments that "when a county with a population larger than any one of 45 states votes by over two-thirds, proclaiming as self-evident that human rights and peace are indeed one issue, it will not only encourage persecuted Soviet peace workers, but will send a message to our own politicians and the Soviet government that we consider the gross violations of human rights in the Soviet Union a threat to peace." The committee is now working on spreading its resolution to other areas to make peace and human rights a national issue. Southern Californians can be crazy like a fox.

☐ The first Reagan television commercials are out, and they are appropriate to a cola company, or to Frank Capra armed with Technicolor. The honey-like dawn breaks over the rooftops, wildflowers tremble in the breeze, Ron's in the White House, the hillside's dew-pearled. It is all unspeakably icky, and maybe that's what sells these days, but it seems of a piece with the work of the media wizards who gave us poor Gerald Ford making his own breakfast in the White House kitchen because they didn't want to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

SENATOR DALE BUMPERS (Ark.) is favored by pundits here as Walter Mondale's shrewdest choice for running-mate, as he works his way through the Canossa-like procession of candidates to Minneapolis (*à la* Jimmy Carter). "If he wants Hart, he'll pick Bumpers," says a savvy congressional Democrat, familiar with Mondale and his operation. "Bumpers is a better candidate, doesn't have Hart's baggage, yet pulls Hart's constituency, and is unscarred. Also, he's slightly to the right of Mondale [isn't everyone?] and that helps Fritz." Senator Lloyd Bentsen (Tex.) is no longer on Mondale's short list, we hear, being very unacceptable to women and somewhat unacceptable to labor. Sam Nunn (Ga.) won't give up his Senate seat to lose with Fritz, and Mario Cuomo, governor of New York, should be taken at his word, *viz.*, he's committed to finishing out his term through '86. Although Jim Wright might not have to give up his House seat or the Speakership (thanks to Texas's arcane election laws), and stands ideologically to the right of Mondale, the generational image is wrong, as is the cosmetic image: Wright looks like and talks like a Mississippi riverboat gambler. Also, no woman and no black.

To take the Senate away from the Republicans, the Democrats need to pick up five seats and the White House, or six seats without the Presidency. Updated odds still strongly favor Republican retention. This is how Democratic strategists view the scene, postulating a neutral political environment, i.e., no Reagan landslide. Republicans Chuck Percy (Ill.), Roger Jepsen (Iowa), and Jesse Helms (N.C.) are all vulnerable, with the odds that two of three (probably not Helms) will drop. Then, if you take five other races—Thad Cochran (Miss.), Gordon Humphrey (N.H.), Rudy Boschwitz (Minn.), Bill Armstrong (Colo.), and John Tower's vacant Texas seat—one of these should likewise drop. Add to this the certain Republican goner, Howard Baker's vacant Tennessee seat (to Albert Gore Jr.), and your total is a four-seat gain.

The calculus on the Democratic side is this: Paul Tsongas's vacant Massachusetts seat is slightly better than a 50-50 proposition for Republican Elliot Richardson, provided he wins his tough primary against Ray Shamie (odds now favor Richardson, 3 to 2). Carl Levin (D., Mich.) is the Democrats' weakest incumbent who might just lose in November, although he's looking better lately thanks to the Republican primary contenders, Jack Lousma and Jim Dunn, who are cutting each other up. Combining these, there's an 80 per cent chance that one of these two seats will drop. So the whole political sum looks like a three-seat loss for the Republicans this fall, but if Reagan wins a 45-state landslide (give Mondale Hawaii, Md., Mass., Minn., W. Va., D.C.) as seems increasingly likely, then the GOP net loss might fall to only two. The landslide-coattail effect is arguable, however: It seemed to work in 1980 when 12 Republicans sailed in, and in '56 when Ike picked up one Senate seat, but not in '72 when Nixon's landslide failed to prevent a gain of two seats for the Democrats. In any event, the Republicans will hold the Senate in '84. In the House, the coattail effect of a presidential landslide has more historical verification and merit. If a national tide carries President Reagan into a second term, watch for House Republicans to pick up twenty seats; if small, about eight.

A scandal that might well have derailed other candidates seems to be having the reverse effect on Roger Jepsen, the 55-year-old Iowa Republican senator. On the day following Jepsen's state GOP nomination, a story was leaked that the senator, in his 1977 pre-Senate and pre-born-again days, visited a sex-oriented "health club." Since the story emanated from a Dubuque reporter with ties to an aide of Jepsen's opponent, Congressman Tom Harkin, no one here (and probably in Iowa) believes Harkin's staffers' denials that they planted the sleazy item. Before the incident, the *Des Moines Register* published a poll giving Harkin a 16-point lead over Jepsen, now thought to be grossly bloated (in the face of other conflicting private polls). Recent surveys, however, show that Jepsen has actually picked up three or four points since the disclosures were published, probably due to a sympathy reaction, plus the public sense of dirty pool. At recent Iowa political events, the word was that Jepsen—despite the odds—was going to make it. "The people who are his solid support, and work hard for him —Republican evangelical conservative —are even more behind him now," says a top Iowa Republican. This could be so. —CATO

show him *saying* anything, chiefly because they/he had nothing much to say. One of these days, with any luck before the end of the second term, some Republican will realize that Ronald Reagan became the Great Communicator because he had something to communicate. Until then, back to the icebox.

☐ New Englanders who will not be using nuclear power because of the delays that have mired the Seabrook plant, will be relying instead on—nuclear power from Canada. New Brunswick Power runs one reactor at Point Lepreau, forty miles across the Maine border, which sold over a third of its power last year to us Yanks; there are plans for a second reactor that will send all of its juice south. "It's hard for us," a New Brunswick Power executive said of the Seabrook situation, "to comprehend that a plant with that much money in it won't be completed one way or another." The technical manager of the Point Lepreau plant found the inscrutable gringos equally puzzling. "My heart bleeds for U.S. utilities." Canada's Atomic Energy Control Board, the equivalent of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, is "tough too, but you can reason with them."

☐ The seven chiefs of state and the head of the European Commission have met in London and issued their statements. Reading the cotton-candy prose, one

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is tempted to rank the event, in terms of global significance, somewhere between a college reunion and a debutante cotillion. But the blandness, for once, does not signify ambiguity; it is the blandness of deliberation, the very opposite of demagoguery; and it is welcome. The countries of the West affirm the rule of law, encourage democracy and free elections, stand for freedom of choice and private initiative and enterprise, resolve to maintain a strong military defense, offer to discuss nuclear-arms control with Moscow any time in any place, join hands to strengthen the common defenses against international terrorism, and offer their good offices in defusing the Iran-Iraq petard. Take it all in all, and it amounts to a geopolitical vision based on reality and possessing a genuine cutting edge. The troublesome question is whether the West's actions will be equally coherent.

☐ The big story in the elections to the European Parliament is the emergence of a right-wing party, the National Front, in France. In an otherwise light turnout, the Front got 2.2 million votes—nearly as many as the Communists. Jean-Marie Le Pen, the party's leader, campaigned against immigrant workers, unemployment, crime, abortion, and gay rights. He called the result a "protest vote": "It's against the Left for following a policy of revolutionary socialism, and against what is called the traditional Right for following a policy of creeping socialism."

☐ The Soviets celebrated the fortieth anniversary of D-Day by announcing that the Normandy invasion didn't matter, and that the Soviets had won the war on their own. Soviet PR continues to be handled by the same man who's in charge of the Korean airliner account and the Pope case.

☐ A new edition of James Joyce's *Ulysses* has come out, correcting dozens of errors in the original printing. Joyce scholars say the corrections have virtually transformed the work.

☐ Nervous, wiry Buck Mulligan came from the stairhead bearing a bowl of lather . . .

☐ . . . and no I said no I wont No.

☐ Good news for you military and civilian employees of the U.S. who get killed in foreign hostilities. You are now exempt from federal taxes in the year you get killed *and* the previous year.

☐ POLITICS, FLIX MIX FOR COMMIE TRICKS! Palm Beach is passé, and St.-Tropez is downright grody. Managua is the place to shimmer and shine for this season's glamor gods and goddesses. Wasn't that sultry Darryl Hannah we saw walking through the Migs with rocker beau Jackson Browne? And could that have been lefty looker Bianca Jagger jaunting through the jungle with those kinky Cuban nationals? That's right! Dozens of Hollywood honeys and harlots are swinging down to Nicaragua on "fact-finding tours." Soak up some rays in the morning, some propaganda in the afternoon, and then it's on to the local hotspot, The Glorious Hot Tub of the Revolution, to frolic the evening away. Party until dawn, when the sounds of the firing squads out in the courtyard mean it's bedtime for one and all.

☐ The beer industry is brewing up a swindle, namely "exclusive" (monopoly) distributorships that could raise beer prices as much as 30 per cent. As its chief lobbyist, the industry has hired Christopher O'Neill, son of the Speaker of the House. Why it did so is a total mystery. If there's one thing we can be positive of in this life, it's that members of Congress would never, ever, ever consider engaging in a crude, unscrupulous, nepotistic, illegal influence-peddling scheme to gouge the public.

☐ Voters in California have approved a referendum measure to throw out of office any politician who tells a lie. It will be interesting to see how California gets along without a government.

☐ Wish we could be there on Jesse Jackson's Latin trip to see his face the first time he's introduced to someone named Jaime.

The Pope: A Smoking Gun

BASING HIS own report on some 25,000 pages of documentation gathered by Judge Ilario Martella in the course of his painstaking investigation, an Italian state prosecutor has now filed a brief charging that the Bulgarian secret services recruited Mehmet Ali Agca, the Turkish terrorist who shot Pope John Paul II on May 13, 1981. The prosecutor calls for the indictment of three Bulgarians and six Turks in connection with the plot.

The prosecutor's report does not mention the KGB by name, but it does not have to, and it makes the motives for the assassination attempt clear. "Some political figure of great power," it says, alarmed by the rise of the Solidarity movement and the spreading turmoil in Poland, "decided it was necessary to kill Pope Wojtyla." No one can seriously entertain the notion that the Bulgarians initiated the plot on their own, or that this language describes some Bulgarian political entity. Judge Martella and his investigators have in fact caught the Politburo, though Brezhnev and then-KGB chief Andropov will be unable to stand trial.

There has been remarkably little outrage over this entire appalling matter, though the essential story has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been available for some time through the efforts of Claire Sterling, John Wallach, Marvin Kalb, and others. The CIA has done a passable imitation of the Three Monkeys, not the first time it has given reason for doubt about its perceptions, and the *New York Times* discounted the Moscow connection from the start. Nothing indicates that George McGovern will alter his gushing opinion of Yuri Andropov.

Never underestimate the capacity of either individuals or the media collectively to avert the gaze when the Soviet Union is concerned, and in the spirit of synecdoche we recall the following: In his special two-hour TV program on George Orwell and *1984*, Walter Cronkite never mentioned the phenomenon of Communism, but, rather, used the World War II internment of Japanese Americans as an example of government by Big Brother, and interpreted Orwell's novel as prophesying the dangers of computers, listening devices, and other forms of potentially intrusive technology, as if *1984* were not about *politics*, and as if the model for Big Brother were not Josef Stalin, whose politics had no need of computers.

But Judge Martella has done his work superbly, and the truth, the *New York Times* scooping the news world, is now out with the whole world watching. The facts are there, and they speak for themselves. There will be the nine indictments in Rome, but it will be really the evil empire itself that will go on trial.

Step Right Up

THE VICE PRESIDENCY is like the last cookie on a plate: Nobody wants it, but somebody always takes it.

The plate that Walter Mondale is now passing around as presumptive Democratic nominee is particularly unappetizing, given the near certainty that he will lose. The political shelf life of failed vice presidential candidates is not long. William Miller did American Express commercials. Bob Dole, seeking the top of the ticket in 1980, polled fewer votes in New Hampshire than Lyndon LaRouche. What's-his-name who ran with George McGovern is doing something, one hears.

So perhaps the most significant thing about the crowd examining Mondale's dessert tray is the people who are not there. Governor Mario Cuomo of New York, who nearly everyone rates as a solid prospect in 1988, has removed himself from consideration. Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey has made no trips to Walter Mondale's house. Of Lloyd Bentsen, Dianne Feinstein, Geraldine Ferraro, Thomas Bradley, and the other nominal vice presidentabili, no one has ever heard a presidential word.

Of these last, Mondale will endeavor to pick the most potent. Many will be inspected purely for the purpose of flattering voting blocs—feminists, blacks. For the rest, Mondale will wring as much drama out of the process as he can. It is likely to be the only appointment he will make.

The Age of Jackson

AN AMUSING peculiarity of recent Democratic Party history involves the reappearance of names, but with the political connotation reversed. Thus the fellow-traveling Wallace of 1948 reappears as the populist demagogue of 1968, and many who voted for Eugene McCarthy in New Hampshire that year did so in the belief that they were voting for old Joe, the Republican McCarthy, and Senator Henry Jackson was scarcely buried when the Democrats came up with another Jackson, not Henry or even Andrew but one Jesse, who, not only visually but also politically, is the negative image of Henry; and in the struggle over the identity of the Democratic Party it is Jesse who has won and Henry who has lost, and it is Henry Wallace who has won, and George Wallace who has lost.

Jesse Jackson and his loony sidekick Louis Farrakhan have drawn a lot of attention over "Hymie," death threats, Hitler-was-a-great-man, and predictions of race war, but this is vaudeville. The fact is that Jackson is squarely in the mainstream of the 1984 Democratic Party. Memorial Day found him in Mexico denouncing the United States for "arrogance." Not so long ago, this would have been considered an insult to the men who have died for this country, and therefore a suicidal political move, but for Jackson, and, beyond him, for Mondale and Hart, it was ho-hum stuff. This is the party of which ten congressmen could write a fawning letter to the dictator of Nicaragua, praising him for "opening up the political process" and coaching him on how to deal with Ronald Reagan. This is the party of Ramsey Clark and Bella Abzug, Stephen Solarz and Ted Weiss, of Ted Kennedy, whose idea of making a political point is to accuse the Reagan Administration of racism, and it is the party of George McGovern, who midwifed the whole thing in 1972 and now presides as an elder statesman over his creation, but who, in 1948, was a delegate to Henry Wallace's Progressive Party Con-

Six to Three

I'd like to see the face on Earl,
Who, were he Greek, would love to hurl
Some thunderbolts at those who place
Seniority ahead of race.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vention. It is the party of busing and quotas and confiscatory taxation and a dozen other marvelous things, and it is the party of retreat and anti-patriotism. It is therefore a permanent minority party, if the Republicans have the wit to insist upon its true identity.

The Democratic Party has in fact moved so far to the left that it is virtually off the charts of American consensus politics, and the Republicans would be making a major strategic error if they began to echo, even in diluted form, any of the principal Democratic themes. The Democrats are out there in the political fever swamp, and they deserve to be there, all alone. And, by the way, what is an intelligent man like Bob Strauss doing with a crowd like that?

Illegal Immigration

NO ONE KNOWS how many aliens are in this country without permission. Some guesses run as high as ten million. No one knows how many aliens enter illegally each year. The border guards caught 1.2 million last year and turned them back; and the guess is that an equal number made it safely past the sentry box. No one knows whether illegal aliens contribute to the economy through payroll taxes withheld but not offset by increased use of government services because the aliens fear to come forward; or whether they constitute a net drain on the American taxpayer because they make heavy demands on such services as schools and hospitals while paying taxes at the lowest income levels. No one knows whether illegal aliens working at subpar wages take jobs from Americans, or whether the aliens serve a useful purpose by doing work no American would touch with a ten-foot pole.

In short, no one knows whether "we" (whoever we are) have a "problem" (whatever it may be). The situation is a vast *terra incognita*. Ancient cartographers would label it so, and perhaps add a touch of poesy: Here Dwelleth the Dragon.

In this inky darkness, in the absence of sure knowledge that a problem exists, in the absence of any believable measurements of size or shape or whereabouts, the House barely approved—216 to 211—a version of a bill (Simpson-Mazzoli) already passed by the Senate, which would slightly increase the budget of the border guard, grant amnesty to the unknown millions of illegal aliens now residing here, require employment-documentation devices for every worker in the land, and punish employers for hiring the undocumented. In all this sea of unknowns one thing at least can be stated with complete confidence: When laws are written in utter ignorance of the situation they pretend to address, they are destined to ignominious failure.

As for there being a "problem," the historical record shows clearly enough that an economy genuinely free can accept almost unthinkable infusions of cheap labor.

Run Silent, Run Deep

Senators Percy and Baker
  Yearn for some summitry *now*,
Even though Chairman Chernenko
  Says that's what mama don't 'low.
Some, when the submarine shudders,
  Sweat and turn grey as the paint;
Others, like President Reagan,
  Dive till the pinging grows faint.

W. H. VON DREELE

We numbered 31 million in 1860. In the next fifty years we welcomed that many immigrants. They weren't a problem to the taxpayer because government "services" were just about nonexistent. The laissez-faire economy offered work for everyone who wanted it. More recently, Hong Kong—a hundred square miles of almost useless land, without even its own water supply—welcomed an inflow of refugees from the Communist Chinese butcherdom, quintupling its population in ten years or so. Hong Kong has almost no taxes, almost no government "services," and an almost completely laissez-faire economy.

The free market has no problem with cheap labor. The U.S. Government has a problem patrolling its borders. How about selling the border patrol to private enterprise?

Cuomo, Un Uomo

MARIO CUOMO, governor of New York, is getting a run in the press exceeded only by Michael Jackson and the Edmonton Oilers, and the reason is not far to seek. In his presence, one forgets neoliberalism, "new ideas," Atari Democrats. One forgets even Walter Mondale. Mario Cuomo is a liberal and likes it, and he makes it exciting as only a total immersion, born-again snake-handler could.

Whenever Cuomo speaks, it is the first day of creation. Lyndon Johnson and Jimmy Carter might never have sat in the White House. The programs of the Great Society might never have been analyzed, their effects on our pocketbooks or in our streets might never have been felt. Thus speaks Cuomo, on compassion—*we must be the family of New York, feeling one another's pain, sharing one another's blessings*; on Reagan's priorities—*more money for bombs, less for babies*; on the election—*do we want to continue with a government that takes care only of the richest and strongest*; on the death penalty—*an act of ultimate violence*. (That last effusion, incidentally, when published in the *New York Post*, provoked a dignified letter from a corrections officer who had just attended

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a memorial service for Donna Payant, a fellow officer murdered by a convict serving two life sentences. "How many Donna Payants does it take to open your eyes, Mr. Cuomo, that life behind bars at taxpayer expense is a slap in the face of justice?")

Cuomo's fervor is, in the main, effective politics. But it also yields a less attractive trait, known to afflict other servants of the light—a somewhat humorless testiness when confronted by the minions of darkness. Thus Cuomo, who is said to be a nice man, spent much of his gubernatorial campaign baiting Lew Lehrman for his wealth; in office, he writes critics, or just non-cheerleaders, hair-trigger letters.

Cuomo is the cause of bumptiousness in others. Reviewing Cuomo's campaign diaries in the *New York Times Book Review*, William Kennedy, the Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist, saw fit to begin his essay in this way: "I voted for Mario Cuomo for governor of New York in 1982 because I liked what he was saying and because I thought his opponent, Lewis E. Lehrman, was a social Luddite and a moral troglodyte. Mr. Cuomo's victory was welcome for these reasons and because he seemed the most humane, most sympathetic New York governor since Al Smith. His tenure so far bears out the truth of this." All that is lacking from this drunk-in-a-bar paragraph is the sentence, "And I'll fight any man who says me nay!"

One of Walter Mondale's supporters has described Mondale's liberalism, in a classic cornball phrase, as "hotter than high-school love." This is not a correct tonal description of Walter Mondale, who acts more like the school principal, but it exactly fits Mario Cuomo. There are plenty of liberals who would like a little charge in their lives again, and the very liberal Mr. Cuomo looks to be their man through the second Reagan term.

Jimmy and San Francisco

So what to do? Mondale maintains,
Instead of hiding him in Plains,
They'll let him make a prime-time speech
Which, if it's early-on, won't reach
Too many out in TV Land.
By running him as contraband,
They hope to sneak him through before
A yellow ribbon's on the door.

W. H. von Dreele

Taxpayer Civil Liberties Notes

Watch what you tell your doctor about tax shelters, and think twice before confessing your fiscal sins to your local clergyman. The Internal Revenue Service has drafted new guidelines that would allow its agents to pose as doctors, lawyers, journalists, and even priests to nab tax violators. According to the *Legal Times*, the guidelines describe the possibility that the taxpayer "will be led into a professional or confidential relationship" with agents and informants posing as professionals.

Under the guidelines, IRS undercover agents would also be permitted to: lie about the activities of innocent persons; recruit actual news reporters, psychiatrists, and so forth as informants, even in breach of client confidentiality; supply items or services, otherwise unavailable, that help in the commission of crimes; and remain undercover despite "significant risk of financial loss to an innocent individual."

"Absolutely horrendous . . . they [the IRS] have really gone overboard," one Washington tax lawyer told *Legal Times*. "I think it's Orwellian," says a Chicago practitioner. "If you go to a priest or lawyer or physician," argues Baltimore lawyer Marvin Garbis, "you should not have to worry whether he is an IRS agent."

Meanwhile, the IRS is bringing out its heavy legal artillery to blast taxpayers who commit the most heinous of offenses: insulting the Service's dignity. The *Atlanta Constitution* reports that housewife Donna Todd sent in a $35 check to pay her income tax with the inscription, beneath her signature, "Signed involuntarily under penalty of statutory punishment." The IRS responded by seizing the $140.06 in her bank account and filing a lien against her house to satisfy the remainder of a $500 fine applied to anyone filing a "frivolous" return—though Mrs. Todd's addendum seems less frivolous than baldly true. In all, 5,528 taxpayers have been casualties of the new war on frivolity, including a woman in Ohio who likes to add comments on her return that express "her opinion of the poor quality of some of our government officials," as her lawyers put it.

The law against "frivolous" returns is part of the 1982 TEFRA legislation that will be linked forever to the name of Senator Robert Dole. The "taxpayer compliance" portions of that law, and of Dole's more recent legislative efforts, are onerous enough that they may succeed, at long last, in fueling a movement to regain for taxpayers the civil liberties that we all take for granted as Americans.

A Missile Downed

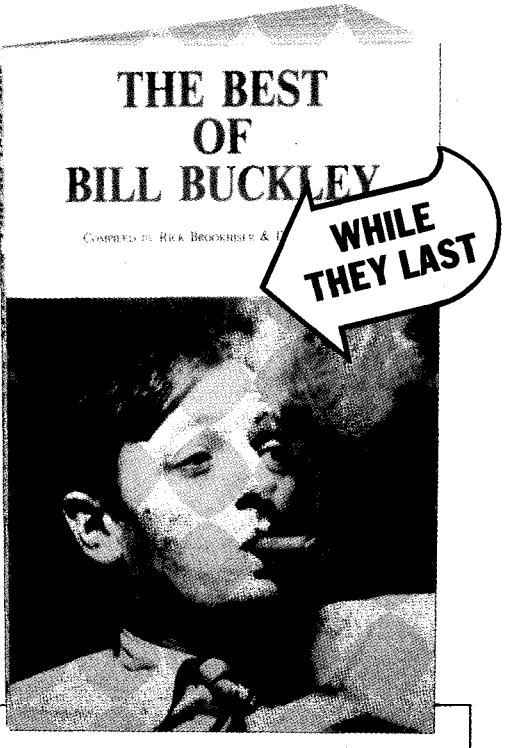
Back in 1945, the chief of the U.S. Office of Scientific Research and Development made a statement about ICBMs intended to assure the nation it need never worry about them. "In my opinion, such a thing is impossible," he said, "and will be impossible

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now: You can get a FREE COPY *of the new limited edition of:*

THE BEST OF BILL BUCKLEY

Some years back when the compilation of Bill Buckley's best quotes appeared in book form as *Quotations from Chairman Bill* it was pronounced "Juicy! Irreverent! Funny!" by the Miami *Herald*. The *Wall Street Journal* said, "A feast . . . Buckley's humor is abundant." And the New York *Daily News* exclaimed: "A treasury of some of our time's best and sharpest conservative writing and thinking." But it's been out of print for quite a while. Now, it's been re-published in a new, updated version, *The Best of Bill Buckley*—excerpted from his writings over the past 25 years: books, columns, editorials, articles and speeches. Here you get Bill Buckley's most penetrating, wittiest and perhaps most irritating (to liberals and other targets) quotes gathered together in one handy book. A few samples:



"... though liberals do a great deal of talking about hearing other points of view, it sometimes shocks them to learn that there *are* other points of view."

"I am obliged to confess that I should sooner live in a society governed by the first two thousand names in the Boston telephone directory than a society governed by the first two thousand faculty members of Harvard University."

"Socialize the individual's surplus and you socialize his spirit and creativeness; you cannot paint the *Mona Lisa* by assigning one dab each to a thousand painters."

"One must bear in mind that the expansion of federal activity is a form of eating for politicians."

You can get this priceless paperback book (perfect size for your bag or briefcase—you'll have it with you when you *wish* you had it) of quotes handily arranged from A to Z on such subjects as Drugs, the Sexual Revolution, the CIA, the Church . . . such people as Norman Mailer, Ted Kennedy, Arthur Schlesinger, the Beatles, Eleanor Roosevelt—the list goes on and on. And you can get it FREE AND POSTPAID, if you act *now*. Just return the order card opposite this page: you'll receive the next 20 big issues (40 weeks) of *National Review* (you won't want to be without NR during this *crucial* election year!) and your FREE copy of a unique collector's item at no more than the special low rate of $18.95. This is an offer you won't want to miss. Return the card *today*. (Offer automatically expires when our supply of books is exhausted.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for many years. The people who have been writing about these things that annoy me have been talking about a three-thousand-mile-high angle rocket shot from one continent to another carrying an atomic bomb, and so directed as to be a precise weapon which lands on a city. I say technically I don't think anybody in this world knows how to do such a thing, and I feel confident it will not be done for a very long period of time to come. I think we can leave it out of our thinking."

Less than twenty years after that statement was made, ICBMs dominated the world's strategic balance. The technological nay-saying continues, nonetheless. Today, however, it is being focused principally on the feasibility of ballistic-missile defense. Perhaps the leading argument of the opponents of President Reagan's *strategic-defense initiative is that it is technically impossible* to defend against ICBMs. Shooting down an ICBM, it has been said, is like trying to hit one bullet moving at 20,000 miles an hour with another bullet at an altitude of one hundred miles above the earth. Clearly impossible.

On June 1984, the U.S. Army shot down a Minuteman I intercontinental ballistic missile using an experimental heat-seeking interceptor missile that destroyed its target by unfolding a 15-foot steel umbrella in space. This event demonstrated what should be a commonplace of technological advance: The impossible is likely to become the commonplace, given enough time and persistence.

The test does not mean that we have entered the era of ballistic-missile defense. Not yet. Four previous tests have failed, showing the difficulty of the task. Moreover, the missile shot down was on a known trajectory, and it was outfitted with no countermeasures—flares, decoys, electronic jamming, and the like—which would have made the interception more difficult. On the other hand, the target missile was shot down in mid-trajectory, which has long been considered the most difficult point at which to achieve an interception. The test was one of historic significance proving that ICBMs can be shot down.

The Soviet Union is undertaking massive programs of research and development in ballistic-missile defense. It is imperative that the United States continue its own R & D programs as well, lest the day come when we are confronted with an unpleasant surprise: the rapid deployment of a Soviet defensive system that renders much of the U.S. nuclear deterrent force ineffective. That would be a strategic revolution equaling the invention of nuclear weapons themselves. It would profoundly destabilize the world and put the survival of the West in doubt. To deploy or not to deploy a defensive system is a question that can be *decided several years from now, research going on* in the meantime. But to pretend that ballistic-missile defense will go away of its own accord would be the ostrich's solution—which is not a solution at all.

De-Absolutizing The "Victim"

THE SUPREME COURT has now struck a blow at reverse discrimination, but the question remains how broadly its decision is to be construed. By a 6 to 3 vote, it overturned a lower court order designed to prevent the layoff of black firemen in Memphis who had been hired under an affirmative-action plan, a decision that resulted in more senior white firemen being layed off instead. The firemen's union sued.

But the language of the majority opinion, written—history must be an ironist—by Justice White, appears to go well beyond the immediate issue of seniority versus reverse discrimination. The majority opinion

"Gary!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

appears to hold that federal anti-discrimination law forbids quotas and other forms of reverse discrimination. Justice White writes that the law permits "only" remedies that favor persons who can prove that they are "actual victims" of illegal discrimination. This would exclude the now ubiquitous presumptive victim, who, merely as a member of a "disadvantaged group," claims special rights and privileges.

The Court also modified the *Miranda* rule, which, since 1966, has held that a suspect must be warned of his rights before being questioned. In a 5 to 4 decision, the majority held that there could be a "public safety" exception to *Miranda*, the case before it involving a suspect who had been asked where he had thrown his gun before being warned about his rights. Well, today *Miranda*, maybe tomorrow the exclusionary rule.

About which, two observations. First, more trouble for Walter Mondale. The Memphis case pushes into the foreground an issue that bitterly divides his presumed constituency. Put bluntly, labor unions and Jews are against reverse discrimination, while blacks and women are for it. Mondale has been ducking the issue, but this will become harder for him to do.

And, second, both decisions at least modify what might be called the Absolutization of the Victim, which took place during the 1960s, when Victim Status, once achieved, overrode all other considerations, including elementary fairness. Entire categories of people were endowed with special privileges, and other entire categories were penalized. Even the criminal acquired a good deal of Victim Status, always, of course, at the expense of his actual victims. The tide may have turned, but we have a long way to go.

Latin America Watch

On June 1, the Soviet ambassador to Brazil, Vladimir Chernyshev, took time in a speech hailing recent Soviet-Brazilian economic accords to summarize recent developments in Central America. "The most important event has undoubtedly been the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua," he said, "and the way things are going, we will have another Cuba there."

► François Mitterrand dispatched Régis Debray to Managua last month and told him to breathe fire at his Sandinista hosts. Debray's trip came after Mitterrand ordered his intelligence community to assess Nicaragua's ties with the East Bloc and Cuba. The conclusions of the intelligence panel mirrored the Reagan Administration's analysis. But what really irked the French was the Sandinista persecution of the Miskito Indians, which has become a *cause célèbre* among French leftist intellectuals. Debray told his hosts that they could expect no more French aid and support until the Miskitos were treated fairly.

► Things weren't all bad for the Sandinistas, though. Norway and Sweden got together and offered Nicaragua two minesweepers.

► Though the Argentines are still trying to wriggle out from their huge foreign debts, that hasn't stopped them from making loans to leftist Latin allies. A few months ago, Argentina extended a $49 million loan to Nicaragua, and in April, Argentina offered a $600 million line of credit to Cuba. That last bit of generosity made the Soviet Union so happy that it promised Argentina massive low-interest financing for construction of a long-planned port at Bahai Blanca. The offer includes the usual array of Soviet advisors further to supplement the already crowded Soviet Embassy in Buenos Aires.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

While listening to the radio recently I was struck by the lyrics to a Paul Simon song:

And after it rains there's a rainbow
And all of the colors are black.
It's not that the colors aren't there.
It's just imagination they lack.
Ev'rything's the same back in my little town.

My friend George (I hesitate to mention this) believes that this is a reference to the Jackson presidential campaign. I, however, believe that since the record was released several years ago it has no political significance. Do you have any new ideas?

Beefed in Texas,
G. L. Simpson Jr.
San Angelo, Tex.

Dear Mr. Simpson: Nope. None at all. I'd lose my reputation if I had any new ideas. Cordially, —WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I wrote reproachfully to the *New York Times* about Grenada. I think you will be amused by the answer I received from Vice Chairman Sydney Gruson.

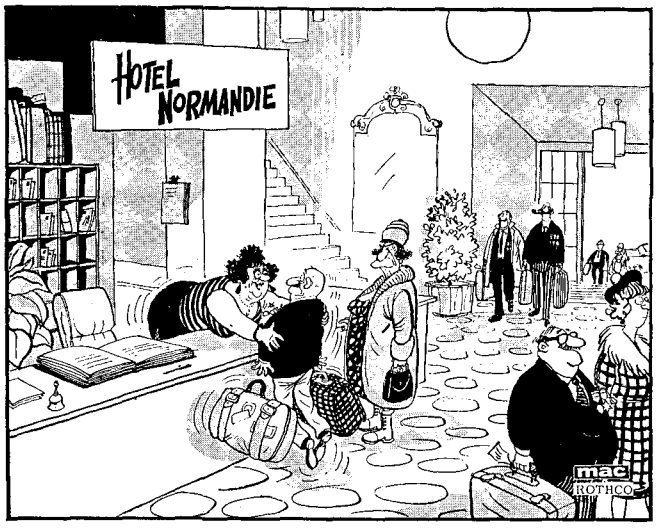
Cordially,
Robert V. Harrington
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Harrington:

Mr. Sulzberger is out of the country and your letter has been referred to me.

The rest of the NATIONAL REVIEW article is about as correct as the statement that we "sneer compulsively" at Ronald Reagan for calling the Soviet Union an "evil empire." We editorialized about that particular speech of the President's, but we do not sneer at this or any other President.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Mac, *Daily Mail* / Rothco

"Cecil, mon cher! 'Ave you come to re-enact what you did 40 years ago?"

I don't think there is profit for anyone in getting into an argument with the NATIONAL REVIEW. The *Times*'s record speaks for itself.

Thank you for writing.

Sincerely,
Sydney Gruson
Vice Chairman
The New York Times Company

Dear Mr. Harrington: I have known Sydney Gruson since 1951 when we were co-boarders in Mexico City at a time when I was serving my country in the CIA while he was playing the horses at the Hipodromo and on the side covering Mexico for the *New York Times*. He is a very wise man. That, you see, is why he knows it is unprofitable to get into an argument with NATIONAL REVIEW. The *New York Times* never sneers at a President, just as NATIONAL REVIEW never sneers at the *New York Times*. And it is true that the *Times*'s record speaks for itself. Ask Castro. Thank you for writing. Cordially, —WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Heaven forbid that I should abet one of *NR*'s long-running linguistic disputes, but I do think that your reply to Richard Kania's letter ["Notes & Asides," June 1, 1984] rather missed the point.

I had never seen the word "kakistocracy" before myself, but its meaning was easy to infer from the context. Consultation of the OED confirmed my inference, and my faith in my knowledge of Greek prefixes as well. Apparently someone, a century or so ago, felt the need for an antonym to "aristocracy," and so coined the term. The only real mystery is where *Ms* Cady could have chanced upon it; people of her trend of thought are hardly noted for their erudition, to put it gently . . . Possibly she saw it scrawled on the wall of a uni-sex rest room at University—who knows?

Anyhow, Greek *kakisto*(*s*), worst, plus *-kratia*, rule. First recorded usage in OED is by Thomas Love Peacock, 1829. Was *he* the coiner? It's no neologism at least. This seems to be the true etymology, but perhaps you didn't miss the point so far after all. We are indeed ruled by a kakistocracy, and your excrementitious derivations are more to the point than OED's plodding scholarship. *Ms* Cady has failed only to distinguish the true kakistocrats.

You knew this all the time, didn't you?

Regards,
John H. Lowry
Boston, Mass.

Dear Mr. Lowry: Right ho! And thank you—cordially, —WFB

☐ To the Editor:

I sedulously eschew criticizing economists although the inchoate and arcane science of economics inexorably leads to predictions that are tantamount to the prognostications of a sophistic soothsayer. Is it indeed salubrious to anneal ourselves against the turgid prose of economists whose wisdom, or lack thereof, inexorably affects our very lives? I think not.

Therefore, I am delighted to reveal an economic model that can accurately predict the national debt of the U.S. 12 months hence. First, calculate the percentage increase in the number of political action committees (PACs) in the past 12 months. Multiply this number by the number of congressmen who receive money from more than twenty PACs and then multiply this number by the cosine of 36.52. Now find the coefficient of regression which correlates the number of Swiss bank accounts owned by congressmen with the average number of family members on a congressman's payroll and raise this figure to the 5.87 power. Now we must compute the number of "junkets" taken by the entire Congress in the past year and multiply this number by the square root of the natural logarithm. Now we compute the number of congressmen indicted in the past year and multiply by pi (3.14). Determine the number of congressmen whose net worth has increased by more than 50 per cent in the past year and covary this number by the amount of "earned" income gained from speaking before special-interest groups. Now multiply this product by one billion and you will have accurately predicted the national debt for the next 12 months. And you can be assured that our national debt will remain as long as this algorithm holds true.

Sincerely,
R. "Van" Conoley
Miami, Fla.

Dear Mr. Conoley: Most congressmen steal only votes, and Swiss banks won't billet American voters.
Cordially, —WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REAGAN AND WOMEN

MATCHED AGAINST Walter Mondale, Ronald Reagan's standing with women is considerably better than the "gappers" would have you think. Much of the gender gap is due to the strength of Reagan's male vote, which now puts him ahead of Mondale by some 12 points. Women currently favor Reagan 51 per cent to 47 per cent, with 2 per cent undecided. As the Democratic Convention gets under way, the differential will contract somewhat, but the White House is confident that come election time Mr. Reagan will be comfortably in front of Mr. Mondale with both male and female voters.

This is not to say that the gender gap is not real. It averages some 12 points, which break down this way: Three points out of the 12 are owing to black women, who go against the President 98 to 2 (black men: 88 to 12), and Jewish women, less than 10 per cent of whom support the President. Another three points are owing to Mr. Reagan's perceived hawkishness and the perceived uncompassionateness of his Administration (he remaining safely a nice guy). Another three points can be traced to distortion, and the final three oscillate between Republicans and Democrats, currently pitching strongly toward the latter thanks to Mr. Reagan's being much more Right than, say, Jerry Ford.

With the gap in mind, the Reagan-Bush '84 campaign will carefully contour its efforts in areas of delegate selection, platform drafting, and hustings rhetoric. In 1980, less than one-third (29 per cent) of the delegates to the Republican convention were women. This year the goal is 50 per cent, with the realistic expectation being 46 per cent. In reaching the GOP's female-delegate goal, the West is doing well: More than half of California's delegates are women. The Rocky Mountain states, too, will send more women than men. The Northeast and South are laggard, with Pennsylvania and Alabama being most retrograde.

Issues will likewise be tailored to fit the realities of a re-election bid, notably the ERA and abortion, both of which will be kept out of sight, explicitly that is, in the writings of the Republican Platform Committee. On the ERA, the President's view is intricate. As governor, Mr. Reagan signed an equal-rights bill, the first one in the land, and he had high hopes for it. But toward the end of his term, when the implications of it bore in on him, he soured on it, and declined to support it publicly thereafter. In 1980, the President was said first to have resisted efforts by conservative Republican women to have the GOP platform denounce the ERA, feeling that such a denunciation was borrowing trouble. But they were adamant, and the ERA condemnation found its way into the platform, despite the objections of pro-ERA Republican women, including daughter Maureen. On abortion, Mr. Reagan's position is well known, and it is a gut position with him, again notwithstanding Maureen.

Now, a majority of women in the U.S. are "pro-choice" and pro-ERA. But the political calculus is not what it seems at first blush. The pro-ERA/choice majority are not, in the main, "single-issue" types, but tend to vote on the basis of a full range of concerns. The anti-ERA/choice minority, on the other hand, are bullet voters, meaning that the ERA and abortion are driving single issues that determine how they cast their ballots. When you add this up, the sum is that being against the ERA and against abortion —as the President is—means a net gain of a few percentage points.

As for the platform, it will talk about equal rights for women, equal opportunity, equal jobs, equal pay for equal jobs (no mention of comparable worth), and general verities about the sanctity of human life, hoping that explicit references to the ERA and to abortion will not be forced. "The President has never asked anyone to march in lockstep," says a top Reagan campaign official. "When we pick delegates or appoint women to leadership positions in the campaign, we don't ask them to state their positions. No litmus tests. Be loyal to the President, and don't declare war over platforms or planks. Don't create a situation that will make it difficult for the President to run."

Jobs for Women

IN THEIR campaign oratory, the women involved in the 1984 GOP effort will have much to crow about, especially in economics. Many jobs have been created in the Reagan recovery, and most of them have gone to women. Income taxes and the marriage tax penalty have been lowered, child-care tax credits for working mothers raised, the widow's tax on estates jettisoned. The Health and Human Services Department's budget this year is $318 billion, greater than the Pentagon's and the third largest in the world (after the U.S. and the USSR), 56 per cent of which will be spent on women, and HHS Secretary Margaret Heckler is a liberal Republican. Thanks to Mr. Reagan, there are three women in his Cabinet, two at the deputy Cabinet level, and one on the Supreme Court, and of three thousand presidential appointees about half are women.

Clearly the best political thing that has happened to the Reagan Administration relating to women was last year's press hype over the gender gap. It put all political systems on Nervous, then on Go. Now Reaganites can say that a gap is one thing, a majority another. Odds are good that, come November, women voters will favor Dutch over Fritz, and by a greater percentage than in 1980. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LE CHRYSLER BARON

NOT OFTEN will you find demand-sider Hobart Rowen (*Washington Post*) and supply-sider George Gilder (Tyringham, Mass.) pulling on the same oar. But when it comes to import quotas on Japanese automobiles, they are united. Free trade doth strange oarfellows make. The quotas were imposed by the Reagan Administration in 1981 to help Detroit meet the competition. Initially set at 1.68 million vehicles, the quota was increased this year to 1.85 million. More recently, because of the flap over executive pay and perks, U.S. trade representative William Brock has expressed reservations about renewing the quotas next year. But the familiar political dynamic may well prevail: Helping a few people seems more attractive to politicians than helping the great mass of people called consumers.

What distresses Rowen and Gilder is that under the government-furnished protectionist umbrella, GM, Ford, and Chrysler have been able to set prices perhaps $500 a car above what a free market would permit; while, according to Robert Crandall of the Brookings Institution, Japanese cars here cost about $1,500 more than the same models shipped to other foreign countries. In 1983 alone that meant $6 billion in added protectionist revenue for Japanese and American producers. (The way these quotas work, the "monopoly profit" goes to the Japanese. The United States Government could have captured it by auctioning the quotas to the Japanese companies, but it didn't bother.)

Gilder was hopping mad when I called, particularly when he pondered the divergent reputations of Lee Iacocca and John D. Rockefeller I, granddaddy of all entrepreneurs. Rockefeller in the late nineteenth century dominated but never actually monopolized the oil-refining business, and he did so by *lowering* prices so much that some competitors were driven out of business. Consumers were the beneficiaries —but for his pains Rockefeller was called a "robber baron." His descendants have felt guilty about it ever since.

Now here comes Iacocca with his hand out, winning from Washington first a bailout for Chrysler and then protection from the competition, and writers like Gay Talese and David Halberstam vie with one another to compose his bio. George McGovern promised him Secretary of Defense, and today he is touted as a vice presidential possibility (Democratic). To round things off, he has recently been an honored guest at the White House (Republican). "Despite his previous belly-punch attacks on Reagan," Warren Brown of the *Washington Post* noted, "Iacocca got a good White House reception on both visits."

He was there to tell George Bush, James Baker, and Malcolm Baldrige that if they kept the quotas in place for another year, added on some tariffs for good measure, and adopted an industrial policy while they were at it, why, maybe the industrial states in the Midwest would vote for Reagan after all.

Concern for Consumers

YOU MIGHT think Iacocca would be regarded as today's robber baron *par excellence*. But Joseph Kraft reports: "The country . . . is into incentives and innovation. Ralph Nader is more a nuisance these days than a role model. Today's heroes embody enterprise (Lee Iacocca of Chrysler) . . ."

Enterprise! Chutzpah would be more like it. The main problem with protectionism, and the reason why it does so much harm, is that it undermines real enterprise and real innovation, which require all-out effort and self-sacrifice on the part of entrepreneurs. Most businessmen, like everyone else, would really rather not make the effort, if there were any way of taking it easy and staying in business simultaneously. And of course Washington is the way. Go and talk to government officials, and simply ask them to keep the competition out by force.

In the long run, of course, keeping the quotas in place will spell disaster for the U.S. auto industry. The ten Japanese car makers compete with one another fiercely in the home market (selling cars below cost at the moment, apparently), and from this competition will emerge innovations that could reduce our own companies to dinosaurs on a game preserve.

But in Iacocca's defense it must at least be said that when there are people in Washington who are foolishly willing to distribute favors to petitioners, you cannot entirely blame the petitioners for taking advantage of official weakness. It is the Federal Government, not Chrysler or Iacocca, that has the power of coercion. And it is the Federal Government that should discontinue the quotas as soon as possible, preferably before the auto companies are locked into an even more uncompetitive cost structure as a result of upcoming labor negotiations. (U.S. auto workers now earn $8 an hour more than Japanese workers.)

What about Ralph Nader? I thought at first that he was dangerously exposed on this issue, his professed concern for consumers in fact subordinated to his practical alliance with trade unions. I'm glad I called him to check, because he told me no, he had opposed the quotas publicly; and no, he received no money from the UAW or any other union. He seemed to disapprove of quotas almost as much as Gilder does. "Even tariffs would be better," he said, "because with tariffs you would at least have price competition." Nader may not always approve of the market, but at least he understands it. I'm not sure that Iacocca does. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GOOD NEWS FROM CENTRAL AMERICA

OPPONENTS OF President Reagan's policy for Central America don't like good news from the area: understandably, for it might invalidate their criticisms. The news, however, *is* good (meaning bad for the critics). Let me be more precise: It is good in El Salvador, and bad (i.e., good) in Nicaragua.

I have been talking at length with a highly experienced, Spanish-speaking (but non-American) observer, recently in El Salvador and Nicaragua, and have come away a good deal more encouraged than if my source had been, say, the *Times* or the *Post* or NBC.

First, the presidential elections in El Salvador really were a remarkable demonstration of popular dissociation from the Communist guerrillas, of a longing for peace and order, and of the feasibility of democracy even in a strife-torn Third World country.

José Napoleón Duarte won, not because of CIA money allegedly spent on his behalf, but because more voters chose him than wanted Roberto d'Aubuisson. Simple as that. Frankly, various things do worry me about Duarte: that he is, on the evidence, a social democrat in Christian Democratic clothing, for instance; that he wants a negotiated settlement with the guerrillas, for another.

To restate the best wisdom, the outcome to avoid, whatever the cost, is the kind of negotiated settlement that gave the wrong side their victories in Vietnam (twice), Algeria, and other places. The temptation to be "reasonable" is a trap. The rebels, here as elsewhere, want negotiations on *their* terms, implying a pre-conceded victory.

The guerrillas could have entrusted their fortunes to the polling booths but were afraid of the result. The likelihood of peace through talks is therefore limited. In one restricted field, however, negotiations might be possible and could even be useful. The chairman of the guerrillas' political umbrella organization, the FDR (*Frente Democrático Revolucionario*), Señor Guillermo Ungo, who has been enormously useful to the hard-line Communists as an acceptably "moderate" spokesman, could, just possibly, be lured back into civilian legality through negotiations. Not only would this be a grave loss of image to the rebels, but it would make it substantially more difficult for congressional opponents of continued U.S. aid to El Salvador to sustain their objections.

THE BEST news, however, concerns the reorganization and revitalization of the Salvadoran army. From being a relatively idle, 9 to 5 army, not especially enamored of pursuit and inclined, to make life easier, to massacre random civilians, thus incidentally relieving its frustrations, the army has become a first-class counter-guerrilla force, seeking out and destroying the guerrillas. The old lot have been discarded; the new lot are on the go.

For this striking improvement, the major share of the credit goes unreservedly to the United States, for the highly trained, dedicated, and efficient present chiefs of the Salvadoran army lately emerged from specialized training courses at Fort Bragg.

Conversely, the guerrillas are on the run, and badly winded. None of this infallibly spells victory for the right side, given the special perversity of Congress; but it does constitute a big step forward.

The most important point to grasp about Nicaragua is that (not to the surprise of *NR* readers) the Sandinista regime is moving faster, and as inexorably as before, toward a fully totalist form of Communism. All power is concentrated in the hands of the ruling Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, and specifically its "politburo," the nine "Commanders of the Revolution," headed by Daniel Ortega.

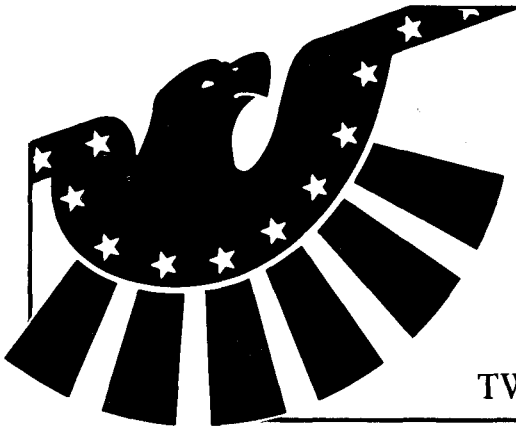
"Mass organizations" on the classic Leninist model, and closely based on the Cuban example, run all sectors of life. Some groups do, still, remain outside the Sandinista system; all are systematically repressed. This applies in particular to independent trade unionists, journalists, heads of enterprises, and above all the clergy. During the Somoza period, the church leaders bravely opposed the dictatorship. For their pains and their courage, they are now at the receiving end of the most ferocious Sandinista persecution.

The regime has set up a "People's Church," which in turn spawned two "revolutionary churches" in Managua. Attendance is close to zero. As in Poland, however, the original Catholic Church attracts the mass fervor of an oppressed population.

Meanwhile, with the CIA's help, the main group of *Contras*, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, occupies liberated zones where the Sandinista writ no longer runs. The much publicized other group, the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance under Edén Pastora (the former Comandante Cero), is much smaller, and relatively ill equipped. To these should be added the Miskito Indians, much persecuted by the regime.

It is against this background that preparations for elections are being advertised in Nicaragua. Significantly, the regime has named the date as November 4, only two days before the greater elections in the United States. Much wool will doubtless be pulled over many eyes, but nobody should be taken in: The elections in Nicaragua will be a farce, unless all opposition groups are allowed to return and campaign freely. Which they cannot be. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



AMERICA'S RISING SUN

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO / THOMAS WENDEL

IT SEEMS APPROPRIATE, given the National Endowment for the Humanities' sponsorship of these reflections, that we turn to the status of the humanities and the arts at the time of the drafting and ratification of the Constitution whose bicentennial we prepare to celebrate. The founding generation's concept of education, rooted as it was in the classical tradition, encompassed the arts within the broad rubric of humanistic learning. In the words of historian Joseph Ellis, the eighteenth century viewed "a flourishing high culture as but one manifestation of social health. . . . Politics, the arts, economic development, and demography were not separate spheres of human activity but interlaced strands comprising the social fabric." Or as stated in the widely disseminated credo of NEH Chairman William Bennett: "I hold to the view that the humanities provide us with an indispensable framework for the civilized development of public policy. . . . They do so less by attacking current issues than by developing an intellectual, moral, and imaginative framework for thought and action."

Let us test the assertion that the humanities, in the sense in which the eighteenth century would have understood the concept, lend a broader vision to the shaping of intelligent responses in personal and public life—a vision that surely informed the men gathered at Philadelphia's State House in the summer of 1787.

First, what was the status of the humanities and the arts in America during the constitutional period? A review of American achievements through the 1780s reveals that as the United States attained political maturity, as signified by the Constitution, so also in history, in drama, in music, in art, in poetry, the country was attaining a corresponding maturity. I think that this is a striking fact, one too often neglected.

The year 1787 was remarkable, and not only for what was accomplished during that hot summer in Philadelphia. That year also saw the premier of Royall Tyler's pathbreaking drama, *The Contrast*, which Kenneth Silverman in his superb book *A Cultural History of the American Revolution* called "the first significant realistic comedy of American life." Tyler's play contains the archetypal country bumpkin who attends the theater and thinks, when the curtain opens, that he is looking in on real people sitting next door in their living room. Tyler wrote, says Silverman, "on the profound new assumption that there now existed a country substantial enough to withstand laughter."

Tyler's accomplishment was not an isolated event. Rather, it heralded the beginning of an American theatrical tradition. In 1788 William Dunlap's first successful play was produced. Dunlap, founder of the National Academy of Design and the author of 65 plays over a forty-year career, emulated Tyler's comedic treatment of distinctively American types.

Tyler's *The Contrast* premiered in April—one month before the start of the Convention. Charles Willson Peale opened his natural-history museum—that "curious and immensely optimistic effort to weld [together] science, art, and patriotism"—in Philadelphia during the sitting of the Convention. Washington and other members visited this remarkable collection. (Ever the entrepreneur, Peale used one of these occasions to paint yet another portrait of General Washington.)

Joel Barlow published his epic poem *The Vision of Columbia* (republished several years later as *The Columbiad*) one week before the Great Convention finally opened on May 25 (after a delay of 11 days while belated delegates straggled into Philadelphia). Subscribers to this first American effort in the epic genre included Louis XVI, Lafayette, and Washington. In Professor Silverman's opinion, *The Vision* is "the most serious American poem of the eighteenth century."

The constitutional period was rich in cultural achievement of all sorts. The year 1788 saw what has been called the first landscape painting by an American. The American was the problematic artist Ralph Earl, who produced his landscapes after his release from jail in that year. He had good lawyers, among them Alexander Hamilton, for whom he did family portraits in payment of legal fees.

In 1789, William Hill Brown's *Power of Sympathy*, the first American novel, was published. It is written in epistolary form, in emulation of Samuel Richardson. Again, as in the case of Tyler, Brown stands at the threshold of an American literary tradition. Some of his themes would later be echoed from Melville to Faulkner. More immediately, Brown was followed by Hugh Henry Brackenridge, whose *Modern Chivalry* (first published in 1792) marks the beginning—in the words of Russel Nye—of "an authentic

---

Mr. Wendel, who has previously contributed to a Fourth of July issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, *is a professor of history and American studies at San José State University. This article, which is adapted from a recent address at a conference sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities at San José State University, will appear jointly in* NR *and* San José Studies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American satiric tradition." More widely read was Susanna Rowson's Richardsonesque—not to say Harlequinesque—novel *Charlotte, A Tale of Truth* (1791), whose eponymous heroine, like the ill-fated Pamela, stayed a mere two sentences ahead of her would-be seducer through several hundred pages of turgid prose. Charlotte was pursued, I should add, through some one hundred nineteenth-century editions of her story.

But to get back to the Great Year: Perhaps most fitting of all, 1787 saw the publication of the first American history textbook. Its publisher was the little-known Scottish immigrant John McColloch. Two years later, Jedidiah Morse published his *American Geography*. And in 1786 and 1788, the first two editions were published of the work of "the first major American poet," Philip Freneau, who incidentally was a College of New Jersey (later Princeton) classmate of Hugh Brackenridge and James Madison. Also in the amazing year of 1787 the first American art songs appeared—composed by the patriot Francis Hopkinson, dedicated to George Washington, and entitled "Seven Songs for the Harpsichord or Forte Piano." The *Philadelphia Gazette* hailed these songs as "the first work of its kind attempted in the United States."

Hopkinson's compositions (and his treatise on the harpsichord) indicate a rising musical culture in constitutional America. It was in 1789, for example, that Charles Albrecht of Philadelphia began a twenty-year career making the finest American pianos of the period. He had his work cut out for him: In that year 27 Boston families owned pianos—all made in London. And it was in 1786 that John Jacob Astor started in business, selling pianofortes, spinets, violins, hautboys—and, as his ad read, "every other article in the musical line." Fur and real estate were not in the musical line, but for some obscure reason he seems to have found them more interesting.

For some people, America's musical renaissance was occasionally a bit much. Virginia's Landon Carter complained that in Williamsburg there sounded from every house "a constant tuting." His friend John Blair, a signer of the Constitution, was evidently one of the tooters. He frequently gathered at his home a compatible group of friends to make music with spinet, harpsichord, violin, and flute. Blair, of course, was one of the ornaments of Virginia society: He was a grand-nephew of James Blair, who had founded and was first president of William and Mary College. Following his service in the Convention, the musical Blair served seven years as Associate Justice on the first Supreme Court.

Anathemas and Doggerel

What of the involvement in the humanities and arts of other signers of the Constitution? Begin with William Livingston, an unjustly neglected Founding Father. The literary historian Moses Coit Tyler sums him up as "a considerable student of books, a poet, an orator, an essayist, a satirist," who carried against the English "a most vivacious literary warfare—bombarding them through the newspapers with intermittent showers of shot and shell in the form of arguments, anathemas, jokes, and jeers." Livingston won

WE BELIEVE
TELEVISION SHOULD
EXPLORE
VAST WASTELANDS.
NOT BE ONE.
Join us for American television
at its finest—this summer's encore
season of the National Geographic
Specials on Public Television.
Produced by the National Geographic
Society and WQED/Pittsburgh.
Brought to you for the ninth year by
Gulf Oil Corporation. Check
local listings.
Gulf
GULF OIL CORPORATION · NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY
PUBLIC TELEVISION · PARTNERS IN DISCOVERY
Closed-captioned for the hearing-impaired. © Gulf Oil Corporation—1984

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fame in America and England with his 1747 pastoral, "Philosophical Solitude, or the Choice of a Rural Life." The work went through 13 editions to 1790, though today his newspaper, the *Independent Reflector*, is considered his most important literary/political legacy.

While we are in the New York-New Jersey area (though Livingston was a native of New York, he served as New Jersey's first governor from 1776 until his death in 1790), let us take a look at signer Alexander Hamilton. We all know of his legal and financial talents, but we should also be aware that Hamilton was a weekend painter; he advised Martha Washington on her purchases of art. He collected copper and wood engravings, including one by Dürer. His large library, according to one of his biographers, "ranged from philosophy and history to novels. It included Pliny, Socrates, Cicero, Plutarch, Chesterfield, Montaigne, Stern, Diderot, Molière, and Voltaire." As late as 1794 he was studying French with a tutor, and he was an early patron of the New York Public Library. Admitting that he "always had a strong propensity to literary pursuits," Hamilton as a young man actually tried his hand at poetry, as follows:

Content we tend our flocks by day,
When from the field we haste away
And at the sun's retiring ray
Prepare for new delight.
We fondly sport and fondly play
And love away the night.

In order to spare ourselves any further Hamilton poetics, let us now turn to the South, where, as historian Richard Beale Davis, who has spent a lifetime studying the subject, notes, there was from 1720 to 1789 "as high a proportion of well-educated men as existed anywhere in the Colonies—a creativity in belles-lettres, and a dynamic and reasoned political expression springing from scores of sophisticated minds—" amounting to "an intellectual golden age." Which supports and explains the emergence of such men as Jefferson, Madison, Mason, and the others, who, Davis insists, were not exceptions, but rather a culmination. "Without the sustained intellectual exercise of these mid-eighteenth-century planters, merchants, and professional men," Davis writes, "the Colonies would not have been ready for the leadership they exercised nationally in the revolutionary era."

Lighting the Way

In this connection, then, what of the father of the Constitution? James Madison, who, according to Georgia delegate William Pierce, "blends the profound politician with the scholar," was a man wholly immersed in humanistic studies. His essay "Of Ancient and Modern Confederacies" shows intimate familiarity with Plutarch, Demosthenes, Polybius. The essay outlines the structure and history of the Lycian, Amphictyonic, and Achaean Leagues; the Holy Roman Empire; the Swiss Confederacy; and the United Provinces of the Netherlands. "The past," Madison wrote, "should enlighten us on the future; knowledge of history is no more than anticipated experience." Madison, therefore, was a staunch supporter of the idea of a national university, both within the Convention and later as a member of the House of Representatives and as President. Such an institution, Madison informed Congress, would be "a nursery of enlightened preceptors, and a central resort of growth and genius from every part of their country—diffusing . . . those liberal sentiments, and those congenial manners which contribute cement to our union and strength to the great political fabric of which that is the foundation."

James Madison was particularly singled out by William Bennett in the statement to which I have already alluded:

> Consider such great American leaders as James Madison in the eighteenth century, Abraham Lincoln in the nineteenth, and Martin Luther King Jr. in our own time. They were not students of public policy, but of the humanities—of religion, literature, philosophy, history, and the classics. These men were steeped in a tradition of literature, political thought, and religious metaphor. . . . In conformity to this tradition, Madison believed that "learned institutions ought to be favorite objects with every free people" and that our "political institutions should be as favorable to the intellectual and moral improvement of man, as they are comformable to his individual and social rights."

Signer Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina would have agreed. Schooled in England, Pinckney was a founding member of the Board of Trustees of South Carolina College—later the University of South Carolina—and in 1786 he was named president of the Charleston Library Society. According to his biographer, Pinckney accepted the position not for prestige, but because "he loved books." Pinckney was "convinced that a store of knowledge is useful to the entire community." Of South Carolina's other Pinckney, Charles, who at age 24 was the youngest delegate, William Pierce wrote that "government, law, history, and philosophy are his favorite studies, but he is intimately acquainted with every species of polite learning."

Leave the South for a moment and turn back up north to New England: to Connecticut, signer William Samuel Johnson's home state. Johnson was the son of the first president of King's—later Columbia—College. A profound scholar and jurist, he was Connecticut's London agent before the Revolution, after which he followed in his father's footsteps, becoming president of Columbia from 1787 to 1800.

Massachusetts was powerfully and eloquently represented by Rufus King—according to Pierce, "one of the luminaries of the present age"—whose later career took him to New York. Here he was a trustee of Columbia for 18 years. He was a charter member of the Academy of Fine Arts and a founder of the New York Historical Society. King possessed nearly six hundred works of history; he considered Gibbon among the immortals. Lewis Hallam of the theatrical Old American Company called King "our gracious patron." He was, said Hallam, "one of the most liberal minds of the Western world."

Permit me one small footnote: In 1800 King asked the young John Quincy Adams's advice on European universities for his son. Adams showed himself to be a chip off the old block. "Göttingen is best," he said, "but the wild and mischievous doctrines, religious and political, which have produced such pestilential effects in Europe, are said to flourish there with the rankest luxuriance." At Göttingen, "most of the professors were Jacobins in political

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doctrines and, at the utmost, deists in religion. They were disciples of a certain Professor Kant of Königsberg, who passes for a prodigy of metaphysical depth because he writes a jargon that no human being can understand." It goes without saying that young King did not go to Göttingen, where he would have been corrupted by such as the wild-eyed Professor Kant.

Rising Sun

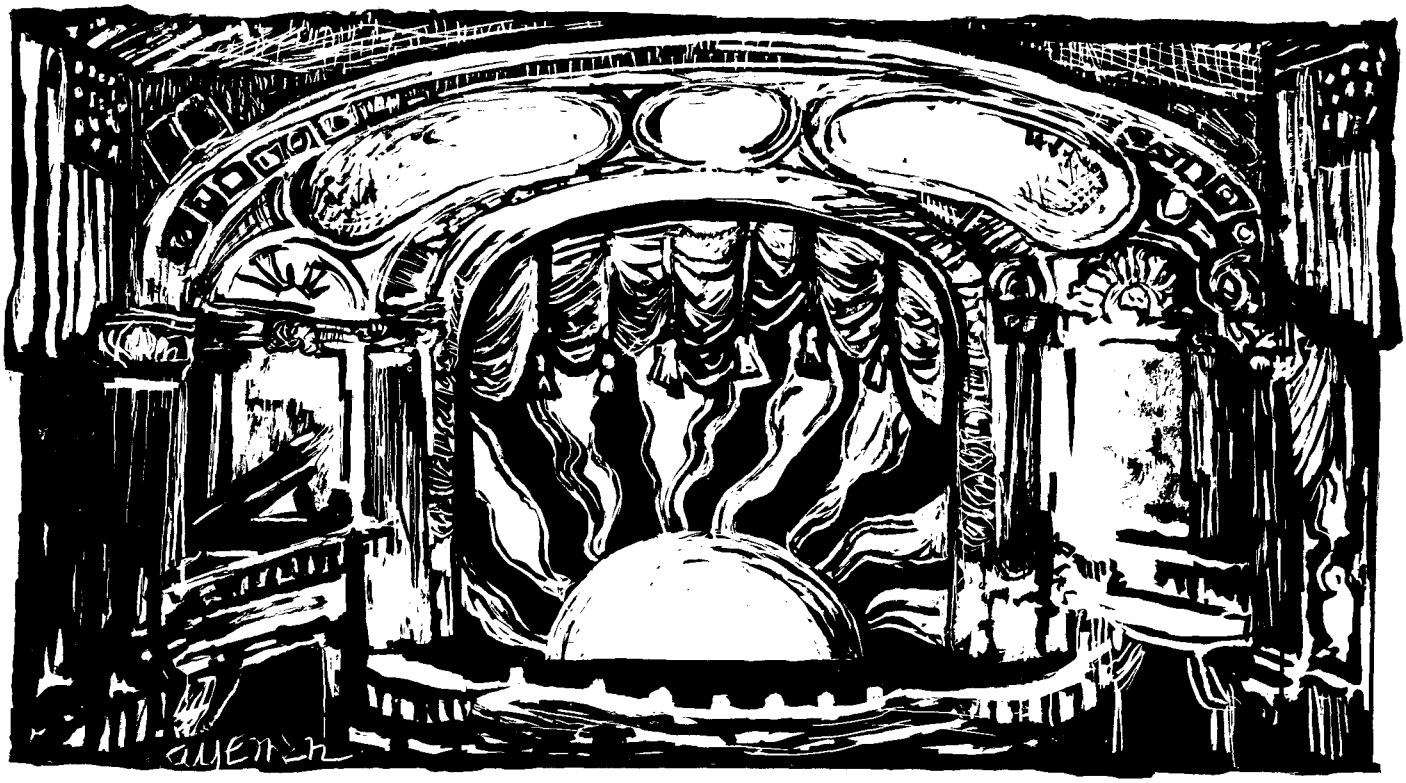
As for the middle states, I have already mentioned several of the signers from New York and New Jersey and should have mentioned the learned John Dickinson of Delaware. But of the 39 men who signed the Constitution, eight came from the state of Pennsylvania, a truly remarkable group, including the two Morrises (not related), Robert and Gouverneur; Jared Ingersoll; Thomas Mifflin; and the learned George Clymer, who was the first president of the Academy of Fine Arts, a vice president of the American Philosophical Society, a vice president of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society, and a lifelong lover and supporter of music. Leading the Pennsylvania delegation was, in William Pierce's words, "the greatest philosopher of the present age," Benjamin Franklin, whose last speech to the Convention was considered the literary gem of the proceedings. Also there was James Wilson, who, like Madison, would have given to Congress the delegated power of erecting a national university. "To protect the labor of the intellect," said Wilson, "is the noblest prerogative of government." The care of education, Wilson continued, is "of particular importance in countries that are free." Although no such provision was entered, it is interesting to note in passing that every President up to Andrew Jackson asked Congress to establish such a university, a project that foundered on the shoals of strict construction.

And, finally, what of the president of the Convention? Washington, as one writer put it, evidently wished to become the American Maecenas. "Every effort of genius," Washington wrote, "and all attempts to improve useful knowledge ought to meet with encouragement in this country." His love of the theater is of course well known; indeed, he attended several performances of the Old American Company during the long Convention summer. It was perfectly natural for Washington to accept the Convention's chair with a theatrical metaphor. As reported in Madison's notes,

> George Washington was accordingly unanimously elected by ballot and conducted to the chair by Mr. R. Morris and Mr. Rutledge; from which in a very emphatic manner he thanked the Convention for the honor they had conferred on him, reminded them of the novelty of the scene of business in which he was to act, . . . and claimed the indulgence of the house.

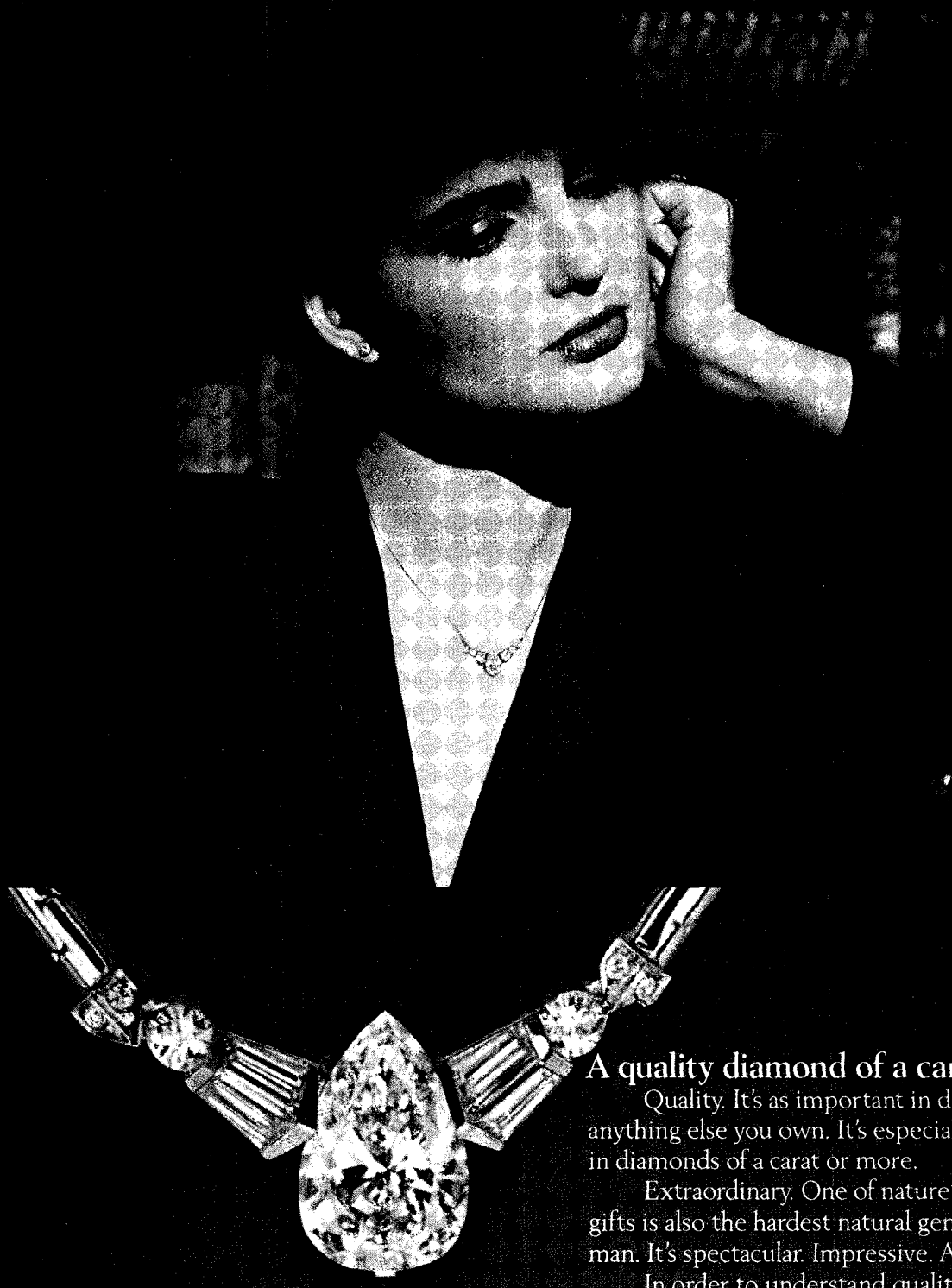
The scene was thereby set for one of the great debates of history, a debate we can follow in Max Farrand's four-volume *Records of the Federal Convention*. Though much of this is dry roll calls and argumentation concerning a myriad of small details, a perusal of these volumes is richly rewarding. Interspersed throughout are examples of the ripe wisdom, the wit, the profundity of these well-honed minds.

"Experience," John Dickinson informed the Convention, "must be our only guide." The members' frequent allusions to historical precedent indicate general agreement with this principle. Though Madison drew most tellingly on his vast knowledge of the history of past confederacies (at one point he "reviewed the Amphictyon and Achaean Confederacies among the ancients, and the Helvetic, Germanic, Belgic among the moderns"), he was not alone. Hamilton displayed almost equal erudition drawing upon "the experience of ancient and modern confederacies" to prove the necessity of strong centralized power. James Wilson, in



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Show her the rewards of full economic recovery.



A quality diamond of a carat or more.

Quality. It's as important in diamonds as in anything else you own. It's especially important in diamonds of a carat or more.

Extraordinary. One of nature's most perfect gifts is also the hardest natural gemstone known to man. It's spectacular. Impressive. And rare.

In order to understand quality in diamonds, one must understand the 4C's: Cut, Color, Clarity and Carat-weight. It is the 4© characteristics that determine the value of a diamond.

Your jeweler is the expert where diamonds are concerned. He can show you diamonds of a carat or more of such exceptional quality as to please even the most discriminating tastes. Give her the ultimate. A quality diamond of a carat or more.

A diamond is forever.

The necklace shown features a quality diamond of 3.06 carats.
Since this isn't the kind of purchase you make every day, we've prepared an informative brochure to help you make the right decision.
For your copy, send $2.00 to Diamond Information Center, Dept. C, 1345 Avenue of the Americas, NY, NY 10105.

De Beers

LICENSED TO UMZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opposing Hamilton, pointed out that "in all extensive empires a subdivision of power is necessary. Persia, Turkey, and Rome, under its emperors, are examples in point. . . . Alfred the Great, that wise legislator, made this gradation . . ." And in arguing for impeachment, Gouverneur Morris reminded the Convention that Charles II was bribed by Louis XIV, an impeachable offense. Our magistrate, Morris continued, is not "the king but the prime minister. The people are king." Of course not all people were king. "If slavery be wrong," warned Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, "it is justified by the example of the world." Citing "Greece, Rome, and other ancient states," Pinckney concluded that "in all ages one half of mankind have been slaves."

But if the members followed Dickinson's admonition regarding "experience," they also frequently fell back on philosophy and reason to buttress their positions. Hamilton's notes allude to Aristotle, Cicero, Montesquieu in support of a strong executive. Montesquieu, in fact, is frequently cited by various members. For Hamilton it was a self-evident truth that men "are vicious—their passions may be operated upon. . . . One great error is that we suppose mankind more honest than they are." For Gouverneur Morris, on the other hand, "the love of fame is the great spring to noble and illustrious actions. Shut the civil road to glory," Morris warned his colleagues, "and [the ambitious man] may be compelled to seek it by the sword." At another time, on the question of the property qualification for office-holding, Morris utilized both reason and experience: "Wealth tends to corrupt the mind and to nourish its love of power. . . . History proves this to be the spirit of the opulent." Franklin, according to Madison's notes, recalled from his own experience that "some of the greatest rogues he was ever acquainted with, were the richest rogues." Franklin would do nothing "that tended to debase the spirit of the common people."

Franklin, in fact, had the last word. According to Madison's notes, when the Constitution was finally drafted and

> whilst the last members were signing it, Dr. Franklin, looking toward the President's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising from a setting sun. I have, said he, often and often in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting: But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun.

In the light of American accomplishments in the humanities and arts in the period of the Constitution, we must think that in this famous remark Franklin had more in mind than "the more perfect union" hammered out by his and his colleagues' labors. Thirty years earlier, Franklin's fellow philomath Nathaniel Ames had written in his widely read New England almanac for 1758:

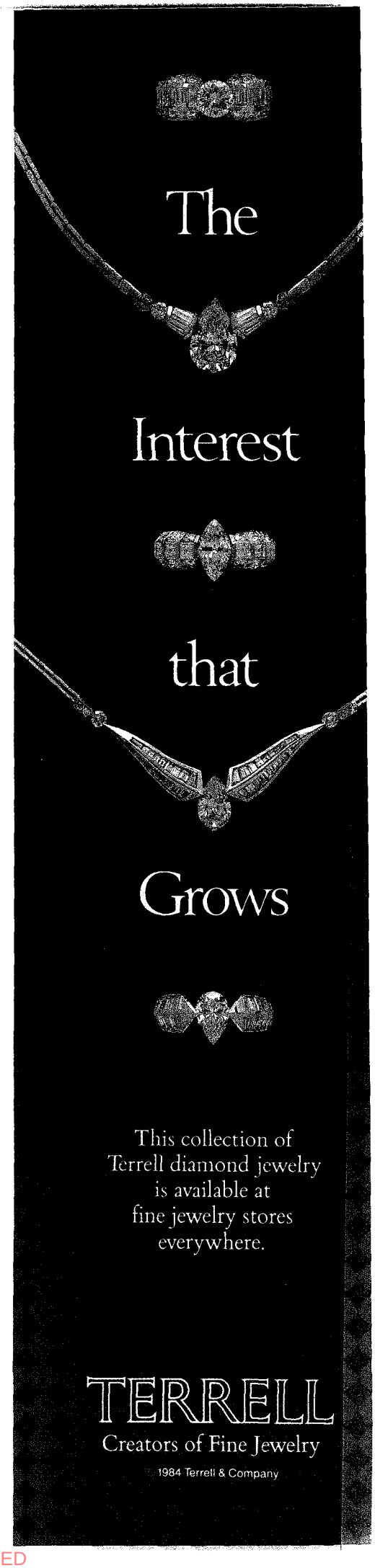
> The curious have observ'd that the progress of humane literature (like the sun) is from the East to the West; thus it has traveled through Asia and Europe, and now is at the eastern shore of America. . . . So arts and sciences will change the face of nature in their tour from hence over the Appalachian Mountains to the western ocean.

Ames was here giving voice to a notion particularly popular in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It is an idea whose roots lie in ancient Greece and Rome and which was echoed by historians during the Renaissance. It stimulated English colonization, and when it combined with the heady notion of republic virtue, it contributed to the rise of a distinctively American nationalism. When Franklin himself wrote that "the arts delight to travel westward," he was uttering what had then become a commonplace.

But it was Ames who at the beginning of the revolutionary period gave the idea its most poetic expression. It is as if he were directly addressing us as we prepare to celebrate the bicentennial of the document that brought his vision to fruition:

> O! Ye unborn inhabitants of America! Should this page escape its destin'd conflagration at the year's end—when your eyes behold the sun after he has rolled the seasons round for two or three centuries more, you will know that in anno domini 1758 we dream'd of your times.

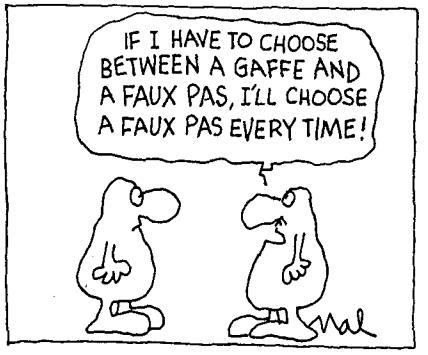
America's rising sun was then the symbol not only of a new political system but of a new civilization, for which the Constitution laid a firm foundation as a means to the end of a richer and more humane society. □

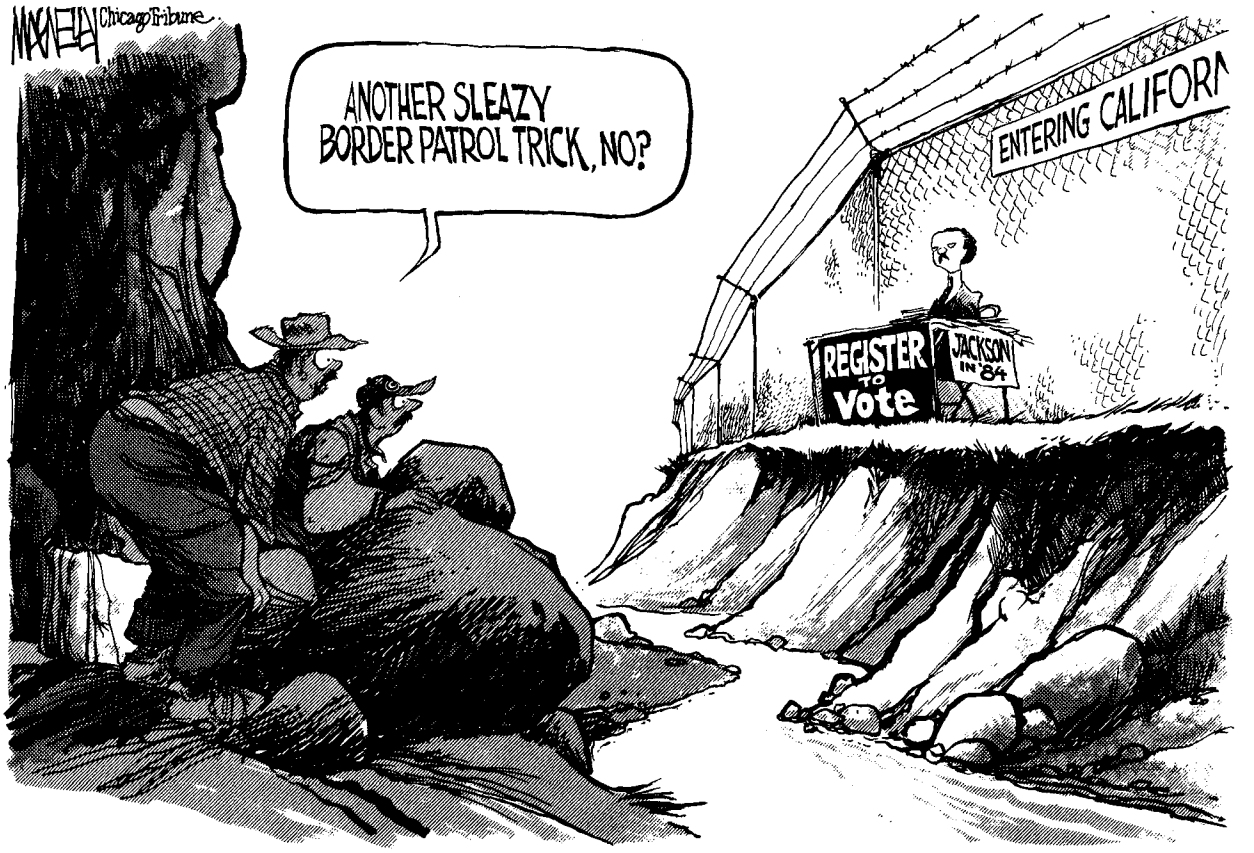


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hel!!!!

SHAPE UP, SOLDIER. SHOULDERS BACK! PULL THAT STOMACH IN! SO YOU WANTA DEPLOY TROOPS, HUH? JUST WHO THE HELL DO YOU THINK YOU ARE? COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF?!?
HOUSE
WEST
THE AUGUSTA CHRONICLE





LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1984 THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER-NEWS AMERICA SYNDICATE
GARRELL
THUS ENDS THIS HISTORIC SERIES OF DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE DEBATES...

"Well, here we are with our personal computer, ready for any twists and turns the conversation may take."

The House of Saud

The grandsons, gouty and obese,
  Enjoy refrigerated air
As polyester conquers fleece
  Among the princes called to prayer.
Across the Gulf, an ugly crowd
  Assails the yachts and limousines,
While memories of Ibn Saud
  Fade faster than designer jeans.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUR REGAL JUDICIARY / LINO A. GRAGLIA

WAS THE CONSTITUTION A GOOD IDEA?

THE ANNIVERSARY OF our achievement of political independence 208 years ago is an occasion not only for celebration but, more important, for examination of the current condition of our independence. That the ideals of personal liberty, individualism, and self-government with which we began as a nation have been allowed to deteriorate may be illustrated by a relatively minor recent incident that would once have been unthinkable in this country. A few months ago a low-level unelected and unremovable official of the national government—the federal district judge in east Texas—ordered that residents of two 52-unit housing developments in Clarksville, Texas, be evicted from their homes, which some of them had occupied for more than twenty years, because of their race. The Clarksville Housing Authority was ordered to assign them to new quarters so that each of the developments would have a racial balance 50 per cent black and 50 per cent white, give or take 5 per cent. There was of course much unhappiness and complaint from all or nearly all of the people involved, but in the United States of America in the year 1984 the order was carried out; the people were indeed removed from their homes, though not all of them would go where the judge had ordered them assigned.

Now, it is true that these people were poor and that the housing developments were government-subsidized projects —the citizens of Clarksville who could fully pay for their housing, it is reassuring to note, were not required to move and can continue to live in "racially imbalanced" areas, just as those who can pay for private schools can escape court-ordered racial busing—but even so, was there not a time in America when such a government edict would have occasioned protest? What outrages did the British perpetrate or threaten that provided better grounds for revolt? We have apparently become so accustomed to the control of our lives by federal judges that we have lost all sense of indignation and all heart for resistance. But if all we did was trade King George III for the federal district judge in east Texas, I doubt it was worth a revolution.

Political liberty requires that government be according to law and with the consent of the governed, not according to the whim of an irresponsible government official. Law is most likely to be good, or at least tolerable, the theory is, if made by those who must live under it. But where was the law—and who were the people that gave it their consent—that required the eviction of those families from their homes in Clarksville because of their race? Well, the law, the judge told us, was the grandest law of all, the United States Constitution, and surely you do not propose to utter a word against the Constitution. We will not regain our political freedom, my thesis is, unless we fully understand and are prepared to insist that what the judge told us in this case—and what the judges tell us in almost every case in which they invoke the Constitution—is simply not so.

Few people, it seems, have ever actually read the Constitution or have a clear idea of its structure and provisions. This is not surprising, because the Constitution is neither very entertaining nor very informative. Some knowledge of the Constitution has nonetheless become essential in order to understand clearly what it does *not* contain—in order to understand that it does not, for example, in any way limit the power of the states to restrict the availability of abortion or pornography or to permit prayer in the public schools.

Considering the remarkable things our judges have found in it, one could easily imagine that the Constitution is a very long and complex document, perhaps like the Bible or the Talmud or at least the tax code. It may be somewhat surprising, therefore, to be reminded that it is actually very short—easily printed, with all amendments, in a thin booklet of fewer than twenty pages—and apparently quite simple and straightforward. The Constitution was, after all, the result of the very practical and mundane purpose of granting the central government the power to ensure a national common market by removing barriers to interstate commerce.

The original Constitution, adopted in 1789 to replace the Articles of Confederation, is only about ten pages long and consists of seven articles or major sections. The first article, by far the longest, provides for the national legislature, the Congress. It consists mostly of provisions regarding methods of election and operating procedures, some of which are obsolete, having been changed by amendment. Although strengthening the national legislature, the Constitution was careful to leave general policymaking authority —the "general welfare" or "police" power—with the individual states. The national government was limited to specified powers, primarily the powers to tax, regulate foreign and interstate commerce, and provide for the common defense. The possession of wide-ranging and undefined pow-

Mr. Graglia is a professor of law at the University of Texas School of Law and the author of Disaster by Decree: The Supreme Court Decisions on Race and the Schools.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers by the national judiciary is, of course, totally inconsistent with this basic constitutional scheme.

Article II of the Constitution, on the Presidency, consists largely of a description of the complicated method of selection, much of which is also obsolete. The very short third article, on the judiciary, creates a federal Supreme Court and grants Congress authority to create other federal courts. It explicitly provides for congressional control of the Supreme Court's appellate jurisdiction, a potentially important means of limiting the Court's power. Article III also provides for jury trial in federal criminal cases and narrowly defines the crime of treason. These three articles provide the framework for a complete system of national government, the basic function of the Constitution.

Article IV requires each state to give "full faith and credit" to the official acts and records and court judgments of other states, prohibits discrimination against out-of-staters, provides for the admission of new states, and provides that the United States shall guarantee each state "a republican form of government." Article V provides for the amendment of the Constitution; Article VI provides that the Constitution, and the laws and treaties made pursuant to it, shall be "the supreme law of the land"; and Article VII provides for ratification. That is essentially all there is to the original Constitution.

Apart from the fact that the national government was to be limited to its specified powers, the original Constitution placed very few restrictions on either the federal or the state governments. Some of these restrictions, such as that Congress could not prohibit the slave trade until the year 1808, are obsolete, and others, such as that neither the federal nor the state governments may grant any "title of nobility," have been of little or no importance. The Federal Government is prohibited from suspending the "writ of habeas corpus" except in emergencies, both the federal and the state governments are prohibited from enacting a "bill of attainder" or "ex post facto law," and the states are prohibited from enacting any law "impairing the obligation of contracts." Only the protection of contract rights —a "bulwark" against "socialist fantasy," Sir Henry Maine called it—has been important in giving rise to constitutional litigation.

Surprising as it may seem, the Constitution nowhere states that federal judges have the power to invalidate the acts of other officials or institutions of government. The extraordinary nature of this power, and the fact that it was without precedent in English law, should alone be taken as establishing that no such power was granted. Given the very few restrictions in the original Constitution, there was little basis for the exercise of such a power even if it had been granted. It is clear that the Constitution did not—and indeed still does not—contemplate a significant policymaking role for judges.

In 1791, two years after the adoption of the Constitution, ten amendments were adopted, the so-called Bill of Rights. The First Amendment, easily the most celebrated, provides that Congress shall not establish a religion or prohibit the free exercise of religion or abridge the freedom of speech or of the press or the rights of peaceful assembly and to petition government. Its basic purpose was to prohibit the Federal Government from licensing the press and from interfering in any way with state authority in matters of religion. That the religion clauses have become the means by which the Supreme Court *overrides* state authority regarding religion merely illustrates that constitutional law is not only not based on but often directly contrary to the Constitution.

After the First Amendment the Bill of Rights seems to go rapidly downhill. The Second Amendment, creating a right to bear arms in connection with the maintenance of a militia, seems to many people who are otherwise Bill of Rights enthusiasts to be obsolete and irrelevant—at best a nuisance constantly brought up by opponents of gun control. The Third Amendment, having to do with the quartering of soldiers in private houses, seems even more remote from and unrelated to any present-day concern. It is safe to say that few people have heard of it and fewer would miss it if it did not exist.

The remaining substantive provisions of the Bill of Rights have to do mostly with criminal procedure. The Fourth Amendment prohibits "unreasonable searches and seizures" and creates a search-warrant requirement. It creates no "exclusionary rule," which is solely an invention of the Warren Court, the effect of which is to divert the major issue in American criminal trials from the guilt of the accused, which is typically not seriously in doubt, to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

procedures by which the evidence of guilt was obtained.

The Fifth Amendment, something of a catchall, requires grand-jury indictments for "capital" and other serious crimes, prohibits putting a person twice in jeopardy of "life or limb" for the same offense, creates a privilege against self-incrimination, provides that no person shall be "deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," and requires just compensation for the taking of private property for public use. The repeated references to capital punishment (referred to still again in the Fourteenth Amendment) are particularly noteworthy in light of the fact that the Supreme Court has come very close to holding (Justices Brennan and Marshall would simply hold) that capital punishment is constitutionally prohibited—another example of constitutional law made in the teeth of rather than in accordance with the Constitution.

The Sixth Amendment creates a right to jury trial in criminal cases, to be informed of the charge, to confront and compel the appearance of witnesses, and to have the assistance of counsel. The Seventh Amendment requires jury trials in civil cases involving more than $20. It is, almost all would agree, simply an embarrassment, an excellent illustration of the desirability of keeping constitutional limitations on self-government to a minimum.

Dred Scott was only one of many injuries inflicted on the nation by the Supreme Court in the name of the Constitution

The Eighth Amendment prohibits cruel and unusual punishments and excessive bail. The Ninth provides that the Constitution's enumeration of rights shall not be taken to deny or disparage other rights retained by the people, and the Tenth makes explicit that the states and the people retain all powers not delegated to the Federal Government.

It is very important to understand that the various provisions of the Bill of Rights were demanded and ratified by the states as limitations on the Federal Government, not as limitations on themselves, and it was early held by the Supreme Court that they have no application to the states. The next time someone tells you that, for example, a city cannot keep the Ku Klux Klan from parading through the heart of downtown (a recurring issue in Austin, Texas)—or prohibit pornographic bookstores or nude dancing, or permit prayer in public schools—because of the First Amendment, you might point out that that is very surprising considering that the first word of the First Amendment is "Congress" and that it nowhere mentions the states. Of course, you might also ask where, in any event, this defender of constitutional rights finds protection of nude dancing in the First Amendment—but be forewarned that the Supreme Court can find it and has found it.

Sixteen more amendments have been adopted since 1791. The Eleventh Amendment was adopted to overturn a Supreme Court decision that allowed states to be sued. The Supreme Court has never liked this amendment, however, and has therefore largely read it out of the Constitution—suing states and cities is today a major industry. Humpty Dumpty and other close students of language would no doubt find it fascinating that the very same act by a state official can be "state action" for the purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment, making the state liable to suit, yet not be state action for the purposes of the Eleventh Amendment, removing the state's immunity from suit.

The Twelfth Amendment changed the procedure for electing the President and Vice President. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments are known as the post-Civil War or Reconstruction Amendments; the Thirteenth abolished slavery, ratifying the Emancipation Proclamation, and the Fifteenth gave blacks the right to vote.

The Fourteenth Amendment was adopted for the very specific and limited purpose of guaranteeing blacks certain basic civil rights, such as to make contracts, own property, sue and be sued, and be subject only to equal punishments. In the hands of the Supreme Court, however, it has become by far the most important provision in the Constitution, in effect a second Constitution that has swallowed the first and transferred all policymaking power not only to the Federal Government but to the unelected branch of the Federal Government, the Court itself. Virtually every constitutional decision involving state law, which is to say the vast majority of all constitutional decisions, purports to be based on a single sentence of the Fourteenth Amendment, and indeed on four words: "due process" and "equal protection." By totally divorcing these words from their historic purposes, the Court has deprived them of meaning and therefore made them capable of meaning anything, magic formulas suitable for the Court's every purpose.

It is therefore essentially misleading to speak of "the Constitution" or "interpretation of the Constitution" in connection with Supreme Court decisions invalidating state law. No more is in fact involved than the Court's purported discovery of new meanings in "due process" and "equal protection." Supposedly on the basis of these two pairs of words the Court has reached such near-incredible decisions as that New York may not refuse to employ Communist Party members as public-school teachers and may not give college scholarship aid to American citizens unless it also gives it to resident aliens, that California may not punish the parading of obscenity through its courthouses, and that Oklahoma may not have a higher legal drinking age for males than for females, even though it is males who present the drunken-driving problem. Except for those four words, these and countless other matters, some of much greater importance, would still be left for decision by elected officials at the state or local level rather than by the majority vote of a committee of nine lawyers, unelected and life-tenured, sitting in Washington, D.C.

To complete our review of the Constitution, the Sixteenth Amendment gave Congress the power to levy an income tax, the Seventeenth provided for the direct election of senators, the Eighteenth gave us Prohibition, the Nineteenth gave women the right to vote, the Twentieth set new dates on which terms of elected federal officials would begin and end, and the Twenty-First repealed the Eighteenth.

The remaining five amendments I think of as modern or contemporary. That is, I can remember when they were adopted. The Twenty-Second Amendment, adopted in 1951, limits the President to two terms—which in my view is, like most limitations on self-government, simply a mistake.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Twenty-Third, adopted in 1961, allows residents of Washington, D.C., to vote for President; the Twenty-Fourth, adopted in 1964, abolishes the poll tax in federal elections. The Supreme Court, however, seeing little value in confining the amendment process to Congress and the states as provided in the Constitution, then decided on its own to abolish the poll tax in state elections as well. The Twenty-Fifth Amendment, adopted in 1967, has to do with presidential succession, and finally the Twenty-Sixth, adopted in 1971, gives 18-year-olds the right to vote.

A proposed Twenty-Seventh Amendment, the Equal Rights Amendment, purported to prohibit all distinctions by government on the basis of sex. Because its literal interpretation would have been intolerable, its practical effect would have been to leave the difficult policy choices involved to federal judges, authorizing them to do what they now do without authority in the name of the Fourteenth Amendment.

We have lived now under the Constitution for almost two hundred years in unprecedented prosperity and freedom, and sound conservative principle cautions against changing what has proved workable. It may be doubted, however, that our success as a nation has been due to the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, rather than in spite of it. We must not forget that but for the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution in the notorious *Dred Scott* case, our greatest national tragedy, the Civil War, costing us more lives than all our other wars combined, might well have been avoided. The Court's decision that the Constitution precluded Congress from dealing with the slavery question made its resolution by war seem inevitable. A better illustration of the dangers of constitutional limitations on self-government would be difficult to imagine. On the basis of this one experience, it is doubtful that the net contribution of the Constitution to our national well-being has been positive, and it is certain that the net contribution of judicial review has been negative.

The *Dred Scott* decision was, however, only one of many injuries inflicted on the nation by the Supreme Court in the name of the Constitution. In the 1883 Civil Rights Cases, its next major constitutional decision invalidating a federal statute, the Court held that Congress could not prohibit compulsory racial segregation in places of public accommodation. The Court thereby gave us such segregation for another eighty years, until Congress again barred it in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Court's current contribution in the race area, busing for racial balance in the schools, is solidly in the *Dred Scott* and Civil Rights Cases tradition. Federal courts have recently ruled, for example, that the Atlanta public-school system, having become virtually all black, has finally achieved "unitary" status, after more than twenty years of compliance with court orders, and may therefore terminate its racial-balance efforts. The Boston and Denver public-school systems, however, although they have gone from majority to minority white while obeying busing orders, still have some whites left and must continue to attempt to distribute them evenly among the schools.

Even without judicial review, most constitutional restrictions are just bad ideas, the product of the mistaken and presumptuous notion that the people of one time are better able to deal with future problems than the people of future times will be. In constitution-making the rule should be the less the better, and a major virtue of our Constitution is its brevity. Indeed, except for what the Supreme Court has made of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Constitution would cause few problems today. Even the very brief original Constitution, however, manages to contain several provisions that are at best an inconvenience.

The Constitution provides, for example, that only a "natural born citizen" can be President. A great political leader could arise and become a much-admired senator or governor, but no matter how strongly the people wanted him for their national leader, he could not be elected President, unless he was born an American citizen. Felix Frankfurter and Albert Einstein, for example, were ineligible, as is Henry Kissinger. This was a source of concern some years ago when Governor George Romney of Michigan, who was not born in this country, was seeking the Republican presidential nomination. Surely this is a situation for which there is nothing to be said. Similarly, the Constitution "protects" us from any temptation we might have to elect a 34-year-old President, a 29-year-old senator, or a 24-year-old congressman. We have particular reason to be grateful today that the drafters did not also concern themselves with maximum ages for high federal office.

As Bishop Hoadly pointed out to the King in 1717, whoever has absolute authority to interpret the law is the true lawgiver

Still another example of a needless and potentially troublesome constitutional restriction is the provision that a member of Congress cannot be appointed to any federal office during the term for which he was elected if Congress had raised the salary of the office during that term. This caused a serious problem when President Nixon wanted to appoint Senator William Saxbe of Ohio to the office of Attorney General. The Attorney General's salary had recently been increased as part of a general salary increase for all federal employees. The result was that President Nixon wanted Senator Saxbe to be Attorney General, Senator Saxbe wanted to be Attorney General, and no one, apparently, was opposed. Unfortunately, it was unconstitutional, proving that a real constitutional issue can arise, but not necessarily to any good purpose.

Because, as Bishop Hoadly pointed out to the King in 1717, whoever has absolute authority to interpret the law is the true lawgiver, to leave the ultimate interpretation of the Constitution to unelected, lifetime judges is to invite subversion of self-government and tyranny. The prescient Tocqueville warned, long before the Court attained its present power, that though the President, whose power is limited, and Congress, which is subject to the electorate, might err without greatly injuring the nation, "if the Supreme Court is ever composed of imprudent or bad men, the Union may be plunged into anarchy or civil war." *Dred Scott* proved the accuracy of Tocqueville's warning, and the Court seems determined to prove it again.

Purporting merely to enforce the Constitution, the Su-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

preme Court has for some thirty years usurped and exercised legislative powers that its predecessors could not have dreamed of, making itself the most powerful and important institution of government in regard to the nature and quality of life in our society. It has effectively remade America in its own image, according to a doctrinaire ideology based on egalitarianism and the rejection of traditional notions of morality and public order. It has literally decided issues of life and death, removing from the states the power to prevent or significantly restrain the practice of abortion and, after effectively prohibiting capital punishment for two decades, now imposing such costly and time-consuming restrictions on its use as almost to amount to prohibition.

In the area of morality and religion, the Court has removed from both the federal and state governments nearly all power to prohibit the distribution and sale or exhibition of pornographic materials. It has further weakened traditional sexual restraints, disallowing restrictions on the availability of contraceptives and lessening the stigma of illegitimacy by prohibiting government distinctions on that basis. It has prohibited the states from providing for prayer or Bible-reading in the public schools while also prohibiting virtually all government aid, state or federal, to religious schools.

What Phyllis Schlafly achieved by years of magnificent effort, Justice O'Connor can cancel with a stroke of her pen

The Court has created for criminal defendants rights that do not exist under any other system of law—for example, the possibility of almost endless appeals with all costs paid by the state—and which have made the prosecution and conviction of criminals so complex and difficult as to make the attempt frequently seem not worth while. It has severely restricted the power of the states and cities to limit marches and other public demonstrations and otherwise maintain order in the streets and other public places, even though the result may be to require cities to spend thousands of dollars to prevent or control the disturbances the demonstrations may be intended to provoke.

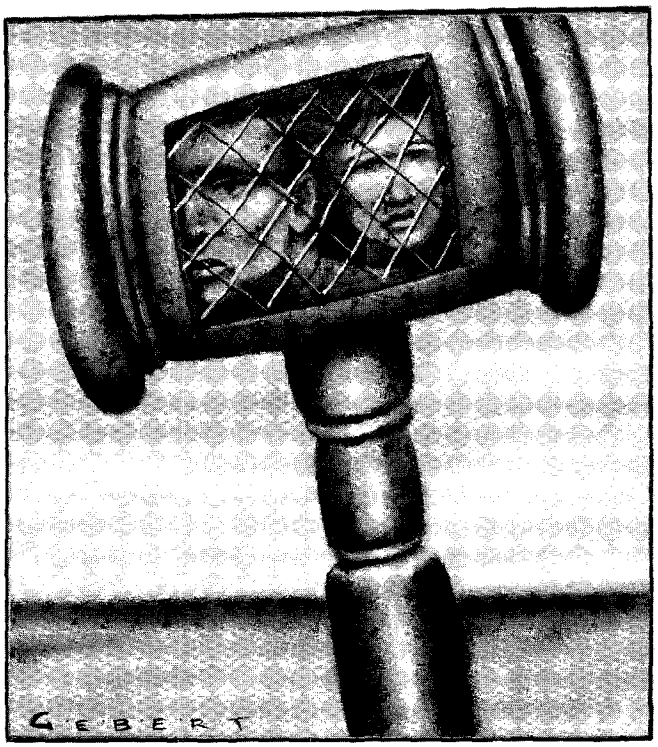
Nothing, however, can better illustrate the extraordinary power the Supreme Court has now achieved than its busing decisions. It would have seemed incredible just a short time ago that the Court would be able to order the exclusion of public-school children from their neighborhood schools and their transportation to more distant schools because of their race. For more than a decade now, however, those orders have been handed down and faithfully complied with across the country despite the fact that they typically operate to increase racial separation not only in the schools but elsewhere and despite their obviously destructive impact on our public-school systems and our cities. Because a requirement of racial integration of the schools—compulsory racial discrimination by government in school assignment—cannot be defended, the Court has always insisted that there is no such requirement and that it orders busing only to enforce the 1954 *Brown* decision's *prohibition* of racial assignment. Difficult as it may be to believe, the only justification ever offered by the Supreme Court for its requirement of racial discrimination by government is that such discrimination is constitutionally prohibited.

Similarly, the Court has boldly asserted that its busing requirement is consistent with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. That act, however, states that "desegregation" means "the assignment of students to public schools . . . without regard to their race" and, redundantly, that it "shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance." The Court's definition of "desegregation" is of course directly to the contrary, requiring the assignment of students to schools on the basis of their race in order to overcome racial imbalance. As Senator Sam Ervin said in justified outrage, the act "says in about as plain words as can be found in English" that assignments are to be nonracial. Congress "could not have found simpler words to express that concept" and was careful to use language "that even a judge ought to be able to understand," he said, but "the Supreme Court nullified this act of Congress" by requiring racial assignment nonetheless in suits brought under the act. Perhaps the Court has obtained a sort of squatter's right to do what it wants with the Constitution, but it can claim no warrant deliberately to pervert a recent, clear, and specific act of Congress. Less egregious abuses of office by other government officials have led to calls for impeachment. But to the Supreme Court truth, logic, and the consequences of its acts impose no insurmountable obstacle. That, one is forced to admit in awe, is real power, power to which no mere elected official could aspire.

Given the Supreme Court's power, the selection of a Supreme Court Justice may well be the most important act a President may have an opportunity to perform. The Justice will decide a much wider range of issues than a President can, and he is likely to remain in office—as in the cases of Justices Douglas and Black, who served for more than a third of a century—long after the President is gone. The power to select Supreme Court Justices has therefore rightly become a major issue in recent presidential campaigns. The system of self-government through elected representatives with which we began as a nation has so deteriorated that we must now choose our highest elected official with care not so much because he will govern us as because he may have an opportunity to choose one or more of the judges who will govern us and whom we will be unable to remove.

Even the election of Presidents who campaign as opponents of judicial power has, however, apparently lost its effectiveness as a means of restraining the Supreme Court. The Court's power is now so firmly established and so widely accepted as to have the status of a force of nature largely impervious to political events. With his very first appointments to the Court, President Franklin D. Roosevelt ended forever the Court's opposition to the New Deal, and never again was a federal statute regulating the national economy or welfare, or a state statute regulating business, held unconstitutional (with one exception, later overruled). President Nixon was exceptionally fortunate to be able to make four appointments to the Court during his first term (President Carter, of course, made none, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



President Reagan has made only one, and that was due to an unexpected resignation). The Court's power and willingness to govern not only has not been checked as a result of the Nixon appointments, however, but has continued to grow.

Chief Justice Burger, Nixon's first appointment, wrote the opinion in the *Swann* case, in which the Court first ordered busing for racial balance in the schools. Justice Blackmun, Nixon's second appointment, joined Justice Burger's opinion in *Swann* and wrote the opinion for the Court in *Roe* v. *Wade*, in which the Court for the first time created a constitutional right to have an abortion. Chief Justice Burger and Justice Powell, Nixon's third appointment, concurred in *Roe* v. *Wade*; of the four Nixon appointees, only Justice Rehnquist dissented. Justice Blackmun also wrote the precedent-shattering opinion in which the Court held that a state may not constitutionally prefer American citizens to resident aliens.

Illustrating the utter chanciness of government by the Supreme Court, if the Senate had not rejected President Nixon's first two choices for the seat that finally went to Justice Blackmun, we almost surely would no longer have court-ordered racial busing—the Court's 5 to 4 reaffirmation of busing in 1979, after backing off for some years, required Blackmun's vote—and abortion would probably still be a matter for regulation by the people of each state through the political process. Justice Blackmun has publicly identified the prohibition of such regulation as his greatest contribution to American life. Never in our history has so much turned on the will of a single individual not answerable to the people whose lives he controls.

Justice Stevens, appointed by President Ford to replace Justice Douglas, the most radical Justice in the Court's history, has voted indistinguishably from Douglas on busing, abortion, and most other basic social issues. Justice O'Connor, appointed by President Reagan, wrote the opinion for the Court holding that Mississippi is constitutionally prohibited from maintaining a nursing school for women even though it also maintains another nursing school of equal quality that admits men—a result unimaginable just a few years ago. The ERA could be defeated in the political arena, but nothing can prevent the Justices from enacting it anyway, and theirs are the only votes that ultimately count. What Phyllis Schlafly achieved by years of magnificent effort, Justice O'Connor can cancel with a stroke of her pen.

Similarly, despite numerous cases presenting the issue to the Court, the exclusionary rule has still not been rejected. In short, six appointments by Presidents ostensibly opposed to judicial activism have not been sufficient to reverse a single major innovation of the Warren Court and have, instead, produced further innovations.

Proponents of judicial review defend the power of the Supreme Court as necessary to the protection of individual liberties against government officials. The assumption, almost universal among academics, is that the American people are not to be trusted with self-government and are much in need of restraint by their moral and intellectual betters. It is somehow forgotten that Supreme Court Justices are themselves high government officials, and officials who, not being subject to the restraint of the ballot, are more, not less, subject to the corruption of power. It is also hard to understand why the search for moral and intellectual leaders, if that's to be the role of our judges, should be confined to members of the legal profession.

In any event, far from being essential to the preservation of our individual liberties, federal judges have become themselves the greatest source of danger to those liberties. It would be difficult to think of a more serious and widespread violation of liberty than that resulting from the Supreme Court's busing decisions—which also violate equality, in that their immediate impact is primarily on the less well off. By undermining effective enforcement of the criminal law—to say nothing of the Court's invalidation of traditional vagrancy statutes—the Court has diminished our liberty to walk the streets of our cities with a degree of security. The Court has admittedly done wonders for the liberties of street demonstrators, dear to the hearts of academics, but for the poor and elderly, forced to live in fear of the crime the Court's decisions have made more difficult to combat, the Court's contribution to liberty is less clear. Most important, every Court decision removing a policy issue from the political process deprives us of our most basic civil right, the right of self-government.

The issue presented by the Supreme Court's virtually unlimited power is, therefore, not whether we agree or disagree with its exercise in particular cases but whether we acquiesce in its usurpation by the Court. The great Judge Learned Hand protested that he would find it "most irksome to be ruled by a bevy of Platonic Guardians, even if I knew how to choose them, which I assuredly do not." I consider it not merely irksome but shameful to be ruled, not even by Platonic Guardians authorized and supposedly competent to rule, but by a handful of lawyers, elected by no one, holding office for life, and pretending to interpret the Constitution. Whatever may be the best system of government, that surely must be one of the worst. But I would, in any event, rather be misruled by my fellow citizens than saved from misrule by the Supreme Court. Bad government is a risk we must take; government by judges is an insult to our national heritage. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ABROAD

LUXEMBOURG *Lakes and Mountains*

Agricultural surpluses seem to have become accepted as part of the American political heritage. But the European Common Market, whose principal domestic problem is the farm lobby, especially in France, is catching up fast. Here are some statistics: There is a surplus of 300,000 tons of beef in the EEC every year. It has to be frozen, which takes away much of its value and leaves it fit only for canning, in which form it must compete, generally unsuccessfully, with Argentine and Australian imports. The average yearly wine surplus is 710 million gallons. This "lake" is made into industrial alcohol for use in paint and cosmetics. Half a million tons of butter too many are produced in the Common Market annually. In the last seven years, the butter "mountain" has amounted to three and a half million tons. Some of this has been dumped in the Soviet Union, but even so, it has cost the European taxpayers about $6 billion. Last year, 500,000 tons of apples and 45,000 tons of pears were also converted into industrial alcohol because no one would buy them at supported prices. Almost the entire Greek orange crop was destroyed for the same reason. Artificially high price levels for wheat have stimulated farmers to grow eight million tons more wheat than can be consumed. In the last few years, it has cost $1.5 billion to pay for and store the surplus. Moreover, large-scale wheat cultivation has changed the pattern of the countryside. Age-old hedgerows and tree-lined pastures have been swept away to make it easier to use sowing and harvesting machinery.

METZ *Ruin*

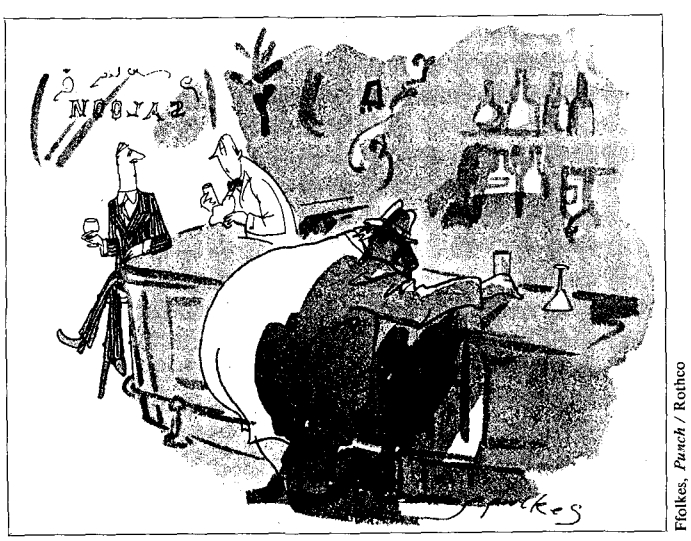
In a wooded area not far from this industrial center of Lorraine, near the melancholy steel town of Briey, stands a modern, 18-story block-long apartment house, almost in ruins. The last family has moved out. Obscene graffiti cover the staircase walls. The elevators no longer run. The cooperative shop that was supposed to form a community center is dark, its windows smashed. The wide corridors running the length of the building are littered with beer cans and excrement. Yet this structure was the creation, only 23 years ago, of the celebrated Franco-Swiss architect Le Corbusier, perhaps the most influential habitation planner of the twentieth century and known throughout the world for his ideas and designs. His *Cité Radieuse*, a great slab of apartments high on stilts, continues to thrive near Marseilles, and other ensembles and buildings modeled on it testify to the force of his thought if not always of the success of his insight into human nature. It was this lack of insight that was apparently the problem at Briey. The idea of a communal lodging off in the wilderness didn't work in the semi-depressed smokestack culture of a Lorraine steel town. There was never any real community, mostly groups of migrant workers, Italians or Portuguese or North Africans, for whom planning theories did not exist. And yet, ironically, there is a housing shortage in the region. Little by little the proud "Corbu" was closed, its services shut down and its fabric surrendered. Various solutions were advanced—for a police barracks, a university annex, even a prison, but none proved acceptable.

BRUSSELS *Latinists*

By the year 2000 one-sixth of the earth's population will speak a Romance language, or language of Latin root, according to a study published here by the Union Latina. Of these languages, by far the fastest growing will be French and Spanish, with calculated increases of 67.6 and 66.5 per cent respectively. Of the other Latin languages, Italian, Rumanian, and Portuguese, only Italian will not extend its domain appreciably. Of the billion Latin-language speakers in 2000, by far the greatest number will be 422 million Hispanophones, two and a half times as numerous as French speakers, who include many of the former French colonial African states. But, the study continued, Spanish will continue to lose out to English and French as an international medium of communication because Spanish speakers are too concentrated in one part of the globe and have little influence outside the Americas. One language expert, Jorge Edwards of Chile, thought that while people used to think that Latin America would end up speaking English, the tendency now is the reverse. There will be 24 million Hispanophones in the United States by the end of the century, and Spanish will impose itself there to an important extent, as well as in a multilingual European Common Market.

ROME *Nondivorce, Italian Style*

Ten years ago, a tumultuous plebiscite authorized civil divorce in Italy, in the teeth of fierce opposition from the Roman Catholic Church. How has this since affected Italian family life? Curiously, hardly at all. Marriage is still far more stable in Italy than in other Western European countries. The only remarkable thing is the relative rise in the rate of separations, but the step over the threshold of divorce is still one Italians are reluctant to take. Italian couples at present divorce 12 times less often than in Sweden; 8 times less than in France; and 15 times less than in Britain. For a population of almost sixty million, divorces in Italy average a comparatively low rate of 12,000 a year.



Ffolkes, *Punch* / Rotheo

"He's been trying to forget the Bomb for 37 years."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

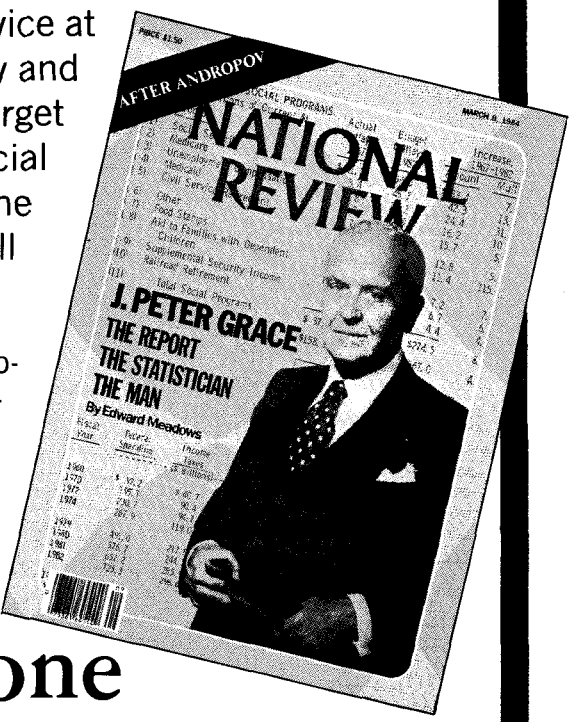
NOW

all you have to do to give

National Review

IS DIAL **800-341-1522** DATATEL™ TOLL FREE

That's right. To make it easier for you to give full-year gift subscriptions of NR (and who wouldn't appreciate such a flattering gift?) we're providing this new dial-a-gift service at no cost to you—just pick up the phone today and order as many gifts as you want (don't forget the students you care about) at our special gift rate of just $23 each. (We'll pay for the call and all postage and handling, and bill you later—quite a bargain.)



NR makes an ideal gift for hard-to-please people—it's a year-long reminder of your interest (not to mention an indication that you think they are interesting people too). Again, don't forget the young people you care about: conservative ideas are back in style on the campus, so NR should be doubly welcome now.

So pick up the phone and dial that toll-free number

You can use it to place your personal order any time from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. (Fridays till 5 p.m.) Eastern Daylight Time. All gifts just $23 each, for which we'll bill you later.

N.B. ***This special number is for gifts only; our operators cannot handle any other business, queries, etc. If the line is busy, wait a few minutes and call again. We're waiting to hear from you.***

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE OPEN CONSPIRACY

Joseph Sobran

Sex and Destiny: The Politics of Human Fertility, by Germaine Greer (Harper & Row, 539 pp., $19.95)

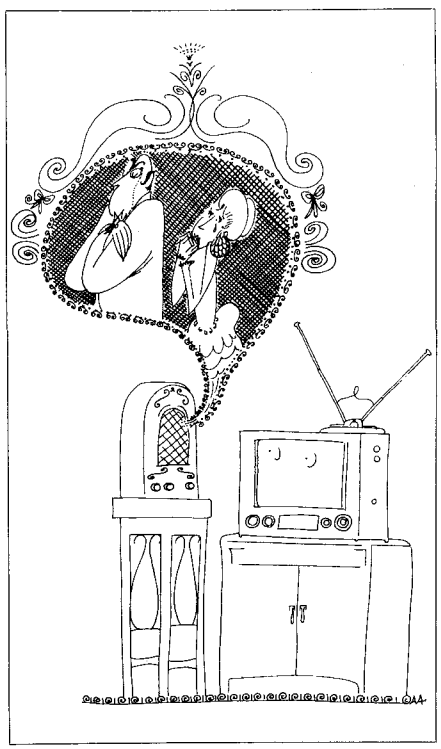
I ONCE READ about a primitive tribe that killed all its own infants and repopulated itself by kidnapping children from other tribes. This has always struck me as a good model of our educated elite of "progressives" who contraceive and abort and recruit new members of their class through the school system, where, as the late Alvin Gouldner observed (with approval), the young are weaned from the teachings of home and church and inducted into the New Class. The more successful of the new members write dutiful autobiographies celebrating their "personal growth" via "consciousness-raising" and denigrate their cultural past: The South becomes a hotbed of racism, the middle-class family is recalled as a den of repression, Holy Mother Church is portrayed as Mommie Dearest. Borrowing the progressive rhetoric, we might say that these memoirists have internalized the values of their oppressors.

Germaine Greer is catching on, somewhat. In *Sex and Destiny* she portrays the modern world as what H. G. Wells called (also with approval) an "open conspiracy" against women and the family. This is a rich book, long and also readable all the way, thanks to Miss Greer's energy, wide knowledge, and ability to see large patterns of behavior in a fresh way.

"Historically," she writes, "human societies have been pro-child; modern society is unique in that it is profoundly hostile to children." In that observation is the strength and weakness of her book. In the main she is right; but the word "unique" is an overstatement, on her own showing. Various social orders have sacrificed the individual to themselves, and even poor Third World families do so too, by means of abortion, contraception, and infanticide. She finds excuses for those families, but they do it all the same.

Even so, this is a deeply anti-ideological book, and it has already outraged the sort of feminist who, while hating men, has internalized the values of her oppressors. Miss Greer thinks women should be women, and this means having babies. If they don't want to have babies for idiosyncratic reasons, well, that is fine with her, but she insists that having babies is normal, and she objects to the concerted campaign against reproduction.

She objects to the modern segregation of children from adult social life; to the apotheosis of the orgasm; to the dismissal of chastity; to state-sponsored "population policy"; to the culture that treats sex and children as consumer items; and most of all, to the West's evangelical promotion of birth control among poor countries, where most people still *want* children.



We have assumed that "sex must be rescued from reproduction," she says, and we have projected this assumption on the world through a "blind conviction that we have to do something about other people's reproductive behavior." We have been blind also to the disruptive effects of this policy on the psyches and cultures of other peoples, and Third World women have been tricked into accepting sterilization by our contraceptive missionaries.

"Sexuality," she insists, "is not an excretory function," but our policies have been tyrannized by the imperative of sexual "release": The inclinations of the lecherous male, dolled up as "rights," have become an organizing principle within Western society and for Western foreign policy. New techniques of contraception and abortion have been developed to accommodate this principle. But most people in the world find the "demystification of the body" to be downright "insulting."

Population policies are most useful to states that want to herd people, since "the more familial a society is, the less effective its administration." Miss Greer also sees international capitalism as a culprit, bent on turning the Third World into an aggregate of consumers like ourselves, superficially enriched by material wealth while deprived of the children most poor people would prefer to more consumer items. "The birth of every unwanted child is a tragedy, for itself and for the unwilling parents, but in spite of all the

Arnold Beichman is currently a Visiting Scholar at the Hoover Institution. His biography of Herman Wouk will be published this summer by Transaction Books.

Terry Teachout is a graduate student in psychology at the University of Illinois, Champaign, Urbana.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOTE FOR US!

☐ Cast a vote for a real winner in this election year—give a friend a subscription to *National Review* at our special introductory rate! There couldn't possibly be a better time than now to do it—right smack in the middle of the most crucial election year of our lifetime.

And you save $11.05 off the newsstand price if you give *National Review* right now. Most important of all, *any* friend of yours will enjoy NR's unique coverage of the news (certainly no other publication does a better job of reporting not only the hot news but also what it all *means*). As you well know, NR is at its very *best* when the political news is hot: we give you the kind of inside stuff you can't find elsewhere (not to mention a unique *viewpoint*).

So flatter that friend, student, or (liberal?) associate of yours who *should* be reading NR now—send them our special election-year gift subscription (or order one for *yourself* if you don't get it regularly). Remember, you save $11.05 off the single-copy rate by getting the next 20 issues of *National Review*—now through the November elections—for only $18.95. Use the card opposite this page today! Many thanks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attention we have given to the matter, more unwanted children are born to us, the rich, than to them, the poor. This may seem a paradox, but the time gives it proof."

Along the way a reader learns a lot about the arrogance of the birth-control crusaders, who in their early days hired poor people to march around bearing placards with inscriptions like I CANNOT READ THIS SIGN. BY WHAT RIGHT HAVE I CHILDREN? Miss Greer is shrewd enough to see that their fundamental attitude hasn't changed much, even if they now affect to champion rather than question the rights of the people they are willing to trap into sterility.

Unfortunately, she tries too hard to maintain her residual leftist attitudes. She tells us that population control "remains a cause not of the Left but of the radical ultra-Right." Nonsense. The radical ultra-Right has never embraced this "progressive" cause and is suspicious of the Fords and Rockefellers who push it. She knows even less about Christianity than she does about the political Right, as she shows when she announces casually that Christianity is "anti-family" and says that the Gospels never mention Christ's kin. She misses no chance to sneer at the Catholic Church, perhaps because she is nervous about the considerable overlap between Catholic doctrine and her own views. She doesn't seem to have noticed the population policies of the Soviet Union, which have fluctuated from one extreme (encouraging abortion) to the other (encouraging even illegitimate births) according to its current needs. To read her version, you would think that only international capitalism engaged in mass regimentation.

Even so, something vast is happening in the world, and Miss Greer has noticed it. Her analysis is not complete and not always accurate, but it makes a running start toward a full understanding. Her occasional socialist rhetoric, which sounds strained, should not blind conservatives to the evils of collectivism even when it calls itself capitalism. □

A SECRET WAR

Arnold Beichman

Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy, by Richard H. Shultz Jr. and Roy S. Godson, preface by Sidney Hook (Pergamon-Brassey's, 225 pp., $19.95)

YOU WILL NOT find the word "disinformation" in the Oxford English Dictionary nor in the OED supplement published in 1972. Nor could I find it in Webster's Third, or in the 1973 Webster's New Collegiate. So, very wisely, the scholarly authors of this fascinating volume on one aspect of Soviet intelligence—media activities and political-influence operations—decided to use the transliterated Russian form of the neologism in their book title. "*Dezinformatsia*" describes an important and successfully exploited weapon in the Soviet war against the West.

To define "disinformation" one must first understand the organizational structure for carrying out what the Kremlin calls "active measures." These include an "integrated array of overt and covert techniques for influencing events and behavior in, and the actions of, foreign countries." The basic aim of "active measures" (or AMs) is "to deceive the target and to distort the target's perceptions of reality."

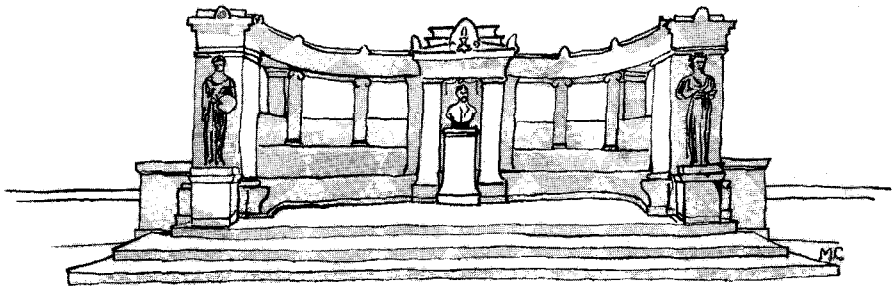
AMs are executed on two levels: 1) *Overt:* diplomatic exchanges, officially sponsored propaganda channels, international cultural activities. 2) *Covert:* the attempt to influence media in foreign countries by placing Soviet-authored or Soviet-inspired articles in foreign publications with attribution to a non-Soviet writer or without any attribution at all; sponsorship of clandestine radio broadcasts; use of international front organizations; military maneuvers and paramilitary operations, such as support of insurgency movements and terrorist groups.

"While every state seeks to influence foreign governments and public opinion," Professors Shultz and Godson write, "the Soviets also use covert (i.e., secret) political techniques to increase dramatically the effectiveness of their overt propaganda and overt political efforts." A 1980 congressional report cited a KGB manual's definition of "strategic disinformation" as a way of assisting "in the execution of state tasks [by] misleading the enemy concerning basic questions of state policy, the military-economic status, and the scientific-technical achievements of the Soviet Union; the policy of certain imperialist states with respect to each other and other countries; and the specific counterintelligence tasks of the organs of state security."

The authors define covert disinformation as "a non-attributed or falsely attributed communication, written or oral, containing intentionally false, incomplete, or misleading information (frequently combined with true information), which seeks to deceive, misinform, and/or mislead the target."

The one aspect about which little is publicly known is the agent-of-influence operation "carried out by a person who subtly and artfully uses his or her position, influence, power, and credibility to promote the objectives of a foreign power in ways unattributable to that power." The agent of influence can be someone recruited for his task or can be an unwitting, manipulated individual. In between the controlled agent and the unwitting collaborator is what is called the "trusted contact." Any well-informed Washington observer could with little difficulty make up a list of individuals who fit easily into the agent-of-influence category but about whom there is no evidence other than the question: *Cui bono?*

What makes this book particularly valuable is that it is not merely theory (even though both authors are professors of international relations and both are attached to the academic Consortium for the Study of Intelligence). It contains interviews with two former Communist disinformation specialists, Ladislav Bittman and Stanislav Levchenko, who spell out the clandestine techniques used by the KGB and its satellite agencies in the secret war and



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

explain why these techniques are, more often than not, successful.

Anyone who doubts the success of Soviet active measures in creating an atmosphere favorable to the Soviet Union should ponder questions such as the following:

When was the last time Professor Marshall Shulman or Professor Seweryn Bialer condemned the Afghanistan invasion, the Berlin Wall, or Soviet anti-Semitism; or raised moral questions concerning the inhuman treatment of, say, Anatoly Shcharansky; or attacked the Soviet dictatorship's "strident rhetoric" about the U.S. with the same disdain as they attacked President Reagan's "strident rhetoric" about the USSR?

Why is Namibia (like Rhodesia in the 1970s) a global crisis, but Moscow's satellization of Syria a non-global non-crisis? Why is Somoza bad and Ortega good? Why are "death squads" always right-wing? Why is Pinochet's martial law worse than Poland's martial law, about which you never hear any more? Why are the CIA's covert operations always overt? Why don't the KGB's covert operations receive congressional scrutiny when these operations—like eavesdropping—affect American civil liberties?

What member of Congress, Republican or Democrat, would dare suggest reviving the House Committee on Un-American Activities or the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to look into the operations of the Institute for Policy Studies?

What ever happened to anti-Communism?

Get the Shultz-Godson book and read all about it. □

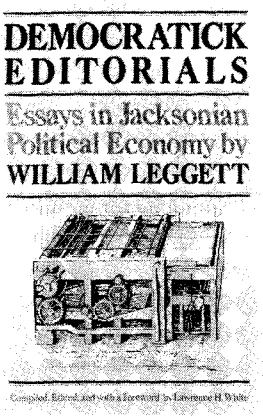
MYTH AND THE MODERN MIND

Jeffrey Hart

The Way of the Animal Powers: Historical Atlas of World Mythology, Vol. I, by Joseph Campbell (Harper & Row, 272 pp., $75)

JOSEPH CAMPBELL is embarked upon an enterprise of the first importance: nothing less than a history of the human mind from its earliest beginnings, an account of how man has understood himself and symbolized in

LibertyPress
LibertyClassics



Democratick Editorials

Essays in Jacksonian Political Economy
By William Leggett

Compiled, Edited, and with a Foreword
By Lawrence H. White

William Leggett, writing for the New York *Evening Post,* the *Examiner,* and the *Plaindealer* in the 1830's based his editorial views on the principle of equal rights to liberty and property.

He held that principle to mean that law may not discriminate among citizens, benefitting some at the expense of others. Strict application of this view led him to favor minimization of government power.

In these essays Leggett brings his views to bear on the issues of the Jacksonian period. Since many of the questions of principle in his day recur in our own, the editorials are of contemporary as well as historical significance.
Hardcover $12.00, Softcover $6.00

Prepayment is required on all orders not for resale. We pay book rate postage on prepaid orders. Please allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery. *All* orders from outside the United States *must* be prepaid *in U.S. dollars*. To order, or for a copy of our catalogue, write:
Liberty*Press*/Liberty*Classics*
7440 North Shadeland, Dept. M107
Indianapolis, IN 46250

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM NOTES

☐ LAST JUNE TITLES: *The Jesuits: History and Legend of the Society of Jesus* (Morrow, $17.95), by Manfred Barthel, translated and adapted by Mark Howson, is a solid history, by a German scholar, of the pope's cadre, examining the dual nature of the society and speculating upon its future.

Sidney I. Landau's *Dictionaries: The Art and Craft of Lexicography* (Scribner's, $30) is an interesting study of both the history and the making of dictionaries, from the first English one, published in 1604, through Samuel Johnson's famous accomplishment to the present. Landau, an outspoken lexicographical liberal, believes that dictionaries should reflect the spoken word as well as the written, and that they should be descriptive rather than prescriptive, offering no standard of linguistic perfection.

That Old Gang o' Mine: The Early and Essential S. J. Perelman (Morrow, $12.95), edited by Richard Marschall, consists of some 55 articles and seventy cartoons published between 1924 and 1930 in *Judge* and other magazines. Perelman enthusiasts will decide for themselves whether the resulting work, though undeniably early Perelman, is also essential Perelman.

☐ COMING IN JULY: *Archduke of Sarajevo: The Romance and Tragedy of Franz Ferdinand of Austria* (Little, Brown, $17.95), by Gordon Brook-Shepherd, is the first English-language biography of its subject.

John McAleer's *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Days of Encounter* (Little, Brown, $27.50) contains some new biographical material and paints a rather warmer portrait of Emerson than we are used to having. . . . *James Agee: A Life* (Dutton, $20), by Laurence Bergreen, is the first large-scale biography of the author of *A Death in the Family* and *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. . . . H. Edward Richardson's *Jesse: The Biography of an American Writer—Jesse Hilton Stuart* (McGraw-Hill, $21.95) is the story of the former poet laureate of Kentucky, an interesting writer largely forgotten by the time of his death earlier this year. —CW

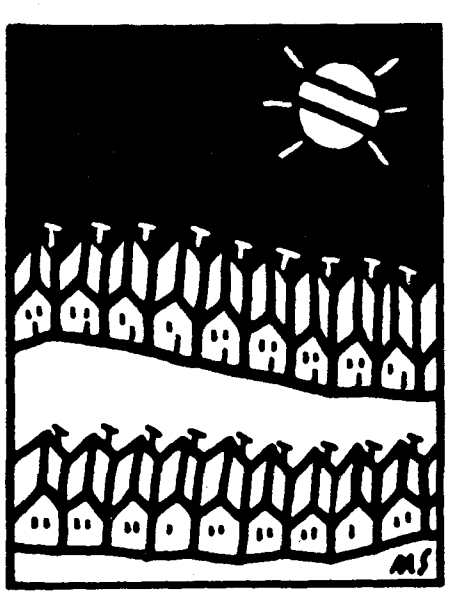
---

myth the meaning of his existence. In its four volumes, Campbell's majestic work will take us from the now silent cultures of prehistory through the present. It will follow the human odyssey from the original cross-over from the anthropoids, who did not create symbols for death or awe, to the early humans, who did, and on through subsequent modes of understanding to modern man with his computers and space voyages.

The first of these four volumes has now appeared, and, quite apart from its epic content, it is a stunning work of art *about* stunning works of art by people whom we will never otherwise know. Mr. Campbell himself made the arrangement of photographs and other illustrations, and his aim was not merely illustrative. His pages themselves could be mounted and hung as independent works of art.

The first volume, *The Way of the Animal Powers*, begins as a kind of anthropologist's alternative scripture and takes us to the mythic representations of the beginning of human existence, or at least human consciousness of it. We are familiar with "Let there be light," but the theme occurs too in the "Upanishads": "Out of one, many." And we hear it in the "Let it thus be done" of the Popul Vuh of Guatemala. Here we have one of Campbell's principal themes—the similarities among mythic patterns as they emerge in different, and often widely dispersed, cultures.

There is more evidence available about primitive man than a layman like myself would have thought, though not nearly enough once the thirst for knowledge is awakened. Campbell takes the reader through the "awakening of awe"—of which Anselm's proof is only a scholastic formulation—through the great hunt myths of the early hunting cultures. One of my favorites is the myth of the Great Bear, which seems to have emerged in Neanderthal times. The hunters conceived, no doubt rightly, that their fate depended on successfully hunting the gigantic bears that then roamed Europe; but they also worshipped the Great Bear as the king of the animals, upon whose good will depended the plentiful appearance of other game. The awe-inspiring, many-chambered caves of Lascaux, with their amazing animal and hunt drawings, represent a kind of cathedral of the hunting culture. Campbell's magnificent photographs give us, probably, only the merest hint of what it must have been like to participate in the religious rituals of that culture. Campbell also discusses and illustrates the various other mythic patterns of the hunting cultures—the female-generative, the shaman, and so forth—as they appear in various modes across the terrain of those early men.



I had known of Campbell's work since reading his *Hero with a Thousand Faces* when I was an undergraduate. In that important book, he deals with the many versions of "the adventure of the hero," finding in them a pattern of departure, initiation, and return. This is familiar to all of us in the narratives about Moses and Jesus, but it can be found in the stories of Odysseus, Aeneas, and even Gatsby, and it is apparently a fundamental pattern.

Campbell's latest enterprise is clearly a *summa* of his career as a student of myth, and also, I think, one of the great works of our time. It has the epic sweep of Pound's *Cantos* or Joyce's *Ulysses*. I even found myself musing upon Dante, as I thought of the title of the projected third volume, *The Way of the Celestial Lights*, which will deal with the sky myths and mathematical achievements of the ancient cosmic cities.

I was excited enough by the whole thing to make a date with Joseph Campbell for lunch at Paone's, an Italian restaurant on East 34th Street. At 79, Campbell looked no more than fifty, a thin and handsome man in a tweed sports jacket and slightly non-businessman-style blue shirt. He said that the second volume is almost ready for the press. It will deal with the ancient planting cultures and will be called *The Way of the Seeded Earth*. "Much more violent than the hunters," he said. "Frightening. Human sacrifice." He will then move on to the cities of the "celestial lights" and to Volume IV of the series, *The Way of Man*,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about post-Renaissance man and his computers.

As we talked, it quickly became clear that the roots of his interest in myth lie not in academic anthropology but in the modern movement in the arts in the 1920s.

I remarked that all of a sudden, not long after the turn of the century, many of the artists whom we now recognize as great began to make myth central to their work: Picasso, Stravinsky, Joyce, Eliot, Pound, Yeats, and the rest.

Campbell agreed. "I got a fellowship and went to Paris in 1927. I discovered Joyce. Later I studied Sanskrit in Munich. I discovered Jung and Mann."

"You found they had a lot in common?"

"Yes. They are all fascinated with the great patterns or archetypes that characterize the human spirit and find expression in art, myth, and religion."

We speculated about why a preoccupation with *pattern* appeared so suddenly, early in the twentieth century, though it did have sources back in the nineteenth century.

Over wine and good pasta we agreed on a theory. Art became interested in these profound patterns because the multiplicity of modern life was slipping out of emotional and intellectual control. Things were moving so fast, indeed accelerating, that the sensitive mind experienced a feeling of anguish, and naturally sought some deeper pattern to organize experience, to move toward a deeper unity. Thus in Eliot's *Waste Land* or Joyce's *Ulysses*, the baffling and disconnected details of the surface, which suggest our daily experience of the formless, find a reconciling pattern below the surface through an appeal to the ancient mythic forms, the forms beyond the formless.

Campbell talked about Eliot, Joyce, Jung. He is superb on *The Waste Land*. He proposed a fresh interpretation of Picasso's *Guernica*, as a death-and-rebirth ritual: "It doesn't have much to do with the air raid." He deplored a Manichean tendency in modern culture, man-versus-machine as an answer to the domination of machines: "It is a synthesis that we need," man-and-machine, the *incorporation* of the machine, neither its dominance nor rejection.

Campbell's great culminating work, I saw, is not only a summing up of his own intellectual and spiritual journey, but a summing up too of much that has been vital to the life of mind and art in the twentieth century. It is singularly appropriate that these momentous and beautiful volumes are coming off the presses as that twentieth century moves toward its end. □

FICTION

HOLY MACKEREL!

Priscilla L. Buckley

Lenin Lives! by Gregory O'Brien (Stein & Day, 164 pp., $10.95)

"Moscow (AP)—Taking what may be the greatest political gamble of the twentieth century, Soviet officials here today claimed they have performed a medical feat of sensational proportions: the resurrection of Russian revolutionary leader V. I. Lenin, who died exactly sixty years ago." So starts Gregory O'Brien's titillating first novel, whose story unfolds day by day, for 31 days, entirely through media reports. UPI is quick with its backgrounder. ". . . In the Soviet Union . . . Lenin is a combination of Abraham Lincoln, Muhammad Ali, and Robert Redford. . . . Lenin was actually born Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov in the Volga River town of Simbirsk a few months after the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870. . . ." A few days later the "man called Lenin" is trotted out. "'I'm Peter Jennings. . . . We switch you live to ABC Moscow correspondent . . .' 'This is Pierre Salinger. The crowd below our scaffolding . . . has been gathering for several hours. . . .'" The *New York Times* detects a hopeful sign for peace in the spontaneous fashion in which "the man they call Lenin" is greeted by the Russian people. "Perhaps this drama, the end of which can only be known to Soviet leadership, will have the unintended consequence of understanding at the human level. We hope so." But Ronald Reagan, always less serious than the *Times*, joshes the press: "And you folks used to kid me about *Bedtime for Bonzo*." In the House, the Speaker recognizes "the gentleman from New York," who comments: "The President's quip was amusing, perhaps, but hardly the kind of serious leadership that would capitalize on the story for all it's worth."

Mr. O'Brien, a 39-year-old former journalist who now practices law in Los Angeles, takes it on from there in a romp. Jeane Dixon reveals she had predicted the resurrection of an important Soviet leader—Lenin or possibly Stalin—in a letter to a friend some years earlier (the friend says she has the letter, but won't sell it "at any price"). Tom Brokaw leads his nightly newscast with the news that Indira Gandhi is the first world leader publicly to recognize the man called Lenin. She says she would "welcome the visit of all representatives of the Soviet Union, including—and this is a quote —[Brokaw informs his dodo viewers] 'persons who symbolize great achievements in Soviet science.'" Meanwhile, Lenin or whoever he is starts to make occasional appearances in the Soviet Union, usually at remote sites—rural cooperatives, factories, mines. His rhetoric is unchanged from the fiery rhetoric of his Bolshevik years, his revolutionary zeal undiminished; he preaches the end of imperialism, the destruction of capitalist society, the annihilation of capitalists, No détentist he.

The *New York Times*, ever alert to the *real* threat, editorializes: "If you hear laughter this morning, it is no doubt from the American right wing. More sensible observers . . ." Dr. Gallup takes a poll. Is he or isn't he the real thing? The "man who calls himself Lenin" becomes "the alleged Lenin" and, in due course, "former Soviet leader V. I. Lenin—or at least his look-alike."

Dr. Armand Hammer, an old friend of the old Bolshevik, meets him and is "convinced" of his credentials. "He is who he says he is, of that I am sure." What's more, Larry King is too. He tells an interlocutor, "Lou, I'm going to shock you. Yes, Lou, I believe it."

Then comes the galvanic announcement that Lenin has accepted an invitation to fly to New York and address the United Nations General Assembly. Evans & Novak weigh in with an insider on White House tussles over how to handle the event. McFarlane and Kirkpatrick take the hard line (he's a phony), Shultz and State, the soft (he may be, but we have to consider the international implications). The mossbacks (Reagan) win. The Administration announces that Ambassa-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dor Jeane Kirkpatrick and the U.S. delegation will walk out before Lenin speaks. Reagan's behavior "is insulting and childish," Ted Kennedy intones. "The fact is," chimes in Tip O'Neill, "this man (Lenin) is an official representative of the other superpower. For God's sake, when are we going to grow up?" The *Los Angeles* and *New York Times* editorialists outdo each other in unctuosity. Mr. O'Brien's ear is finely tuned in these matters. "Maturity in international relations requires that we face the world as it exists, not as we would like it to be. For this reason, it is important that the United States deal with him as a force to be reckoned with." "Rather than the shrill taunts of the Reagan Administration—which at best are unseemly and at worst counterproductive—could this be an opportunity to negotiate with a fresh face on the Russian scene? It is a question worth pondering."

On the 29th day some very important folk in the Kremlin receive unsettling communications from the man most of the world now accepts as V. I. Lenin . . . □

TAILORED IMPULSES

Terry Teachout

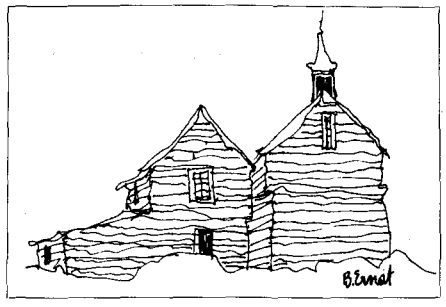
Setting the Tone: Essays and a Diary, by Ned Rorem (Coward-McCann, 383 pp., $18.95)

The Paris and New York Diaries, by Ned Rorem (North Point Press, 432 pp., $15)

The Later Diaries, by Ned Rorem (North Point Press, 448 pp., $16)

A FEW YEARS ago, *The New Yorker* published a wickedly funny parody by Howard Moss called "The Ultimate Diary: Further Daily Jottings of a Contemporary Composer." Mr. Moss's target was *The Final Diary*, the third installment in composer Ned Rorem's serial confessions of a misspent youth. Saturday's entry is typical:

> Stravinsky angry with me, he said over phone. I must never stop working, working. What about sex? L. has left. Should I call C.? Thinking of it. Press clippings arrived. Is there any other composer under 17 whose works are being played in every capital of Asia? Matisse said, jokingly at lunch, that I was too beautiful to live. Genius is not a gift; it is a loan.



The only trouble with "The Ultimate Diary" is that (like most parodies) it doesn't go far enough—as a quick look at the real Ned Rorem's *Paris Diary* reveals:

> We turned: It was Picasso. Those jet bullet eyes both burned into my brain and absorbed me into his forever . . . It's harder to maintain a reputation for being pretty than for being a great artist . . . It is Thursday. Tomorrow P. will not come over from Dorno to see me because the day must be spent killing pigs. Maybe half my life is over . . . The phone: "But how will I recognize you?" "I'm beautiful."

Passages like these have been exasperating readers ever since the Rorem diaries began to appear in print back in 1966. Nor has Mr. Rorem changed all that much with the passing of time, judging by the evidence of his new collection, *Setting the Tone: Essays and a Diary*. Having reached the improbably ripe old age of sixty, he still feels called upon to share with us those famous, self-serving little vignettes:

> Thirty-two years ago . . . I approached John Latouche with the words: "I'm [Virgil Thomson's] copyist, and I just made the parts for his Second String Quartet which is dedicated to you."
>
> "Really?" said John. "I didn't know people who looked like you ever did anything."

One inevitably wonders if people who *write* like that ever do anything, either; but Mr. Rorem has done more than his share. Exasperating as his diaries may be, they nevertheless reflect the workings of a first-rate musical mind; indeed, his criticism is so fine that it tends to make us lose sight of Ned Rorem's real claim to fame. He is, after all, a composer, and one of the best composers we have.

Ned Rorem has been writing music for forty years, and he began to show his colors early; one finds them, for example, in his 1947 song "The Lordly Hudson." The choice of poet is already characteristic: Paul Goodman, the eccentric social critic who wrote *Growing Up Absurd*, would prove a favorite source of song texts in the years to come. And "The Lordly Hudson" was inspired by Rorem's first hearing of the Francis Poulenc *mélodie* "C."; though Poulenc's Gallic nostalgia and firm allegiance to tonality were hopelessly out of fashion by the late Forties, he would ultimately be recognized as Rorem's most important artistic mentor.

The vocal line of "The Lordly Hudson" is flowing and direct, a straightforward presentation of Goodman's text; the accompanying harmonies, though recognizably "modern," are as explicitly tonal (if nowhere as lush) as anything in Poulenc; the textures are clean and uncluttered; the prosody is immaculate. The overall effect is remarkably original, derivative though the compositional techniques may be. Rorem's own capsule evaluation of his earlier music fits "The Lordly Hudson" perfectly: planned, pristine, objective.

The immediate (and lasting) popularity of "The Lordly Hudson," designated "best published song of the year" by the Music Library Association in 1948, led in time to a vast catalogue of music written for every imaginable medium: symphonies, operas, concertos, chamber music, dozens of ingeniously crafted song cycles, hundreds of individual art songs. And Rorem's expressive range has widened considerably over the years. ("The music," he writes in *Setting the Tone*, "is, I like to think, more imbued [today] with the kind of ugliness which is as crucial as beauty is to art.") But Rorem has consistently remained faithful to the organizing principles of tonality, shunning the externally imposed discipline of serial technique and relying instead on his own unmediated sense of beauty and proportion:

> In composition I've no method, have invented naught, have offered to the earth no *means* for producing; indeed, I allow myself to produce according to that most dangerous of all means: tailored impulse.

Critical fashion is as powerful in music as it is in literature; Ned Rorem began to compose at a time when the academic disciples of Joyce and Schönberg were coming to power in the critical establishment, and his songs were no more acceptable to that establishment than were, say, the novels of Flannery O'Connor or Evelyn Waugh.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Like Benjamin Britten, his English counterpart, Rorem was once widely condemned as "old-fashioned" and "conservative"; but, unlike Britten, Rorem has lived long enough to see his music taken up by a new generation of artistic conservatives who are wielding a decisive influence on academic and critical fashion. His reaction, needless to say, is wholly typical:

> I've never run with the pack, composing according to fashion: I've always been a lone wolf, composing according to need. The Red Queen said you've got to run fast to stay in one place. I stayed in one place. Now it's clear I've run fast.

If Ned Rorem's music is, in the best sense, "conservative," his prose—or at least part of it—is often another matter altogether. Ned Rorem may have failed to find "The Ultimate Diary" particularly funny; but no one else who has ever spent an idle half-hour with *The Paris Diary* or *The Final Diary* (it wasn't, incidentally) is likely to agree.

These early diaries may be sampled anew in an elegant reissue from North Point Press. *The Paris Diary* and *The New York Diary* have been combined into a single volume of manageable length; *The Final Diary* is (sensibly) renamed *The Later Diaries of Ned Rorem*. Meanwhile, Coward-McCann has paid homage to Rorem on his sixtieth birthday by bringing out *Setting the Tone*, a triple-barreled volume of new diaries, newly collected occasional essays, and several older pieces drawn from four of Rorem's previous books.

Setting the Tone merits close reading by anyone seriously interested in classical music today; Rorem has his ups and downs, but the ups are invariably memorable. One example, unfortunately, must stand for all: this uncommonly acute speculation on how Aaron Copland came to write his great song cycle "Twelve Poems of Emily Dickinson":

> It is tempting to wonder whether Copland's writing of, say, the Dickinson songs was an intellectual decision. Did he coolly list what precisely had hitherto been wanting in American song—a major cycle, a highly disjunct yet tonal vocal line, an individual piano part—and then proceed to fill the gap?

Nobody, not even Virgil Thomson, is able to write better music criticism than that. □

SOUND ON DISC

WILL THE REAL LOUIS PLEASE STAND

Ralph de Toledano

PERHAPS WE WILL someday have a jazz hall of fame—less pretentious of course than the pantheon for baseball players, but still a place in which the men who created America's greatest music will be honored. We each will have a list of those whose busts should encircle the hall, but there will be no arguments as to Louis Armstrong. For Louis was not only one of the greatest jazzmen in the music's history. He was an American institution, a jazz ambassador to the world. His rich personality, his love of the music he played and the people with whom he played it, his joy of life, were engulfing. He was a Rabelaisian, in the full sense of the word, and he put more into jazz than he got out of it.

Listen to Louis on "Chimes Blues," his cornet sounding out clean and precise against the old King Oliver band, leading the way that all jazz musicians were to follow, his tone and intonation clean and firm, his mastery of the instrument already fully established. When he made his last real appearance at the National Press Club, a few months before his death, Louis was a sick man, but he still had it. He had been told by his doctor to sing a song or play a chorus, but no more. Instead, he was "on" all evening giving us the music that had made him great and flooding the ballroom with his personality. He knew we loved him, and he loved us right back. After he died, we had his legacy—not only the hundreds of records he had cut in the studio or "live," but in the enduring mark he had made on all jazz.

It is fitting then that a serious book, rich in its research and deep in admiration, should be written about him. That book is *Louis Armstrong: An American Genius*. Its author is James Lincoln Collier and it is published by the Oxford University Press. Collier has written much and well on jazz, and he has brought to these writings much technical knowledge as to its workings and structure. It is unfortunate, therefore, that Collier should give Louis too much credit, that he should extravagantly nominate him as the man who singlehandedly moved jazz out of ragtime, thereby neglecting others of equal genius who participated in the development of jazz from its New Orleans roots—the late and great Sidney Bechet, for one.

Collier's biographical research is monumental. He takes Louis Armstrong from the stews of New Orleans and a deprived childhood, up the Mississippi to Chicago, and then to New York where, with the Fletcher Henderson band, he took the jazz world by storm. He traces Louis's rise in the entertainment world and the steps by which he became to millions *the* personification of jazz. He notes the debt that every jazz musician owes to Louis. And he analyzes in fine detail the great Hot Five and Hot Seven recordings that Louis made in Chicago, some with another jazz pioneer, Earl "Fatha" Hines—recordings that today rank among the greatest that jazz has produced. All of this is to the good. It needed doing. But then Collier really goes off the track.

It is his thesis that, having exploded the boundaries of jazz, Louis forgot his musical origins and became an "entertainer," a "showman," who sold out to the hyenas of the music business. The motive drive in Louis was a lust for applause, says Collier, and he played for this applause by clowning, being a musical Uncle Tom, and showing off his prodigious technique in flashy solos of mediocre jazz content. Louis's need for applause and approval, Collier tells us, stemmed from the neglect he suffered in childhood.

I am dubious about the armchair psychoanalysis, but no matter. I do know that any study of the records Louis made from the early 1930s on destroy the Collier thesis that Louis Armstrong deserted jazz for showmanship. I bought my first Armstrong record in 1936. It was a Tin Pan Alley tune and Louis was fronting a less than distinguished group of side men and using what were little more than stock arrangements. But the tone, the attack, and the phrasing were there, and most of the trumpet players of the time would have been glad to make it.

Collier argues his thesis by ignoring or giving a fast brush to the many fine and important records Louis Armstrong made from the Thirties to the year of his death. You can hear them

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in Volume I of *The Greatest Jazz Recordings of All Time*, selected by Dan Morgenstern (who heads the Institute of Jazz Studies at Rutgers) and issued by the Franklin Mint Record Society. "That's My Home," made with Chick Webb's Orchestra, is certainly among Louis Armstrong's best. "Some Day," also in this collection, was recorded with Jack Teagarden, Peanuts Hucko, Bobby Hackett, Johnny Guarnieri, and Cozy Cole. In 1938, he joined with a group including Sidney Bechet and the New Orleans drummer Zutty Singleton for an album, *New Orleans Jazz* (later reissued on LP), in which that wonderful old blues, "2:19," receives a shimmering and moving traversal and demonstrates that the great music of his birthplace had never deserted him. In the 1960s, he was playing and recording with the All Stars, a group that included Tyree Glenn on trombone and Buster Bailey on clarinet.

For Columbia's Great Jazz Composers Series, Louis recorded the collection of blues ascribed to W. C. Handy (CL 591). Louis had with him the former Ellington clarinetist Barney Bigard and the trombonist Trummy Young, and all the old brilliance of the early Armstrong breaks through, but with contemplative overtones that the young man lacked. And of particular significance as jazz are the "live" recordings of Armstrong's great concerts at New York's Town Hall (with Teagarden, Bigard, and other jazz masters), issued and reissued by RCA (DRL 1-0065). This is Louis at the top of his powers and recalls that superlative performance made on V-Discs for the troops during World War II—"Jack Armstrong Blues"—which gathers dust in some Pentagon cellar.

No, old Satchelmouth did not sell out or prostitute his music for the applause that every man who stands before an audience craves. He made many records of little lasting interest—true. But he could always take the worst that Tin Pan Alley and the recording companies thrust at him and give it at least a little meaning. And he could walk into a studio with Ella Fitzgerald and endow Gershwin's *Porgy*

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

THE BURDEN *of Brown: Thirty Years of School Desegregation* (University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, Tenn.; $24.95), by Raymond Walters, is a carefully researched, delicately (but firmly) argued, and stylishly written study intended to give "an interesting account of desegregation" in the four school districts consolidated on appeal by the U.S. Supreme Court under the *Brown* v. *Topeka Board of Education* decision in 1954, plus Washington, D.C., which was ordered the same day by the Court (*Bolling* v. *Sharpe*) to desegregate its schools. The bulk of the book consists of Walters's fascinating history of the total failure of four of these attempts and the partial failure of one of them. Inevitably, Walters is led by his findings to scrutinize the judicial wisdom of the Court in its efforts to tie knots in the sociological Laocoön it had created—less by its conclusion than by its argument, or perhaps one should say its speculative and dubious ramblings pursuant to that argument—in 1954, as well as the subsequent role of the judiciary as a "standing constitutional convention."

"My own point of view," Walters tells us in his introduction, "is so different from the prevailing wisdom that it seems advisable to state it candidly at the outset and then present the evidence with a minimum of didactic intrusions." Yet, his findings support the revised conclusions of the sociologist James S. Coleman, author of the Coleman Report of 1966, for which he acquired the sobriquet, "The Scholar Who Inspired Busing":

> Contrary to the expectations of those who favored desegregation, the quality of public education available to blacks is generally no better than it was in 1954. The situation has improved in Prince Edward County [Va.] and has stayed about the same in Summerton [S.C.], but in Washington and Wilmington [New Castle County], black education retrogressed during the 1960s and 1970s. There was also widespread white flight, with almost all the whites in Summerton, Washington, and Wilmington either moving elsewhere or transferring their children to private schools. It has been more difficult to flee from county-wide school districts, but more than half the white students in Prince Edward County are enrolled in a private academy, while the proportion of whites attending private schools in New Castle County has increased to one-third.

The chief result of desegregation as practiced for thirty years by the courts has therefore been resegregation: even in Washington—once called the "showcase of desegregation," but where in retrospect it is apparent that what looked for a while to be "progress" was no more than a transition period "between the time when the first blacks enrolled in mixed schools and the last whites moved out"—let alone in Prince Edward County, where "determined white people have largely nullified three decades of judicial effort to reconstruct their schools." And in Topeka, Linda Brown Smith, who in the 1970s deplored busing but has subsequently had her consciousness raised, has joined a lawsuit that reopens the question of the meaning of "desegregation" by arguing that regardless of where children live they should attend an integrated school.

"More compulsion," Walters concludes: that is what the courts must exercise if they are to enforce the burden, not actually of *Brown*, but of *Green* v. *New Kent County* (1968), in which the Supreme Court took it upon itself to fly in the face not only of its own decision of 14 years earlier, but of Congress, which had just passed the Civil Rights Act forbidding (in language, it was said, that even a judge should be able to understand) precisely the discrimination the Court was not merely endorsing but mandating. "We are under a Constitution," Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes said, "but the Constitution is what the judges say it is"; to which Walters adds: "Nothing illustrates this point better than the fact that the Constitution, without being relevantly amended, first permitted racial discrimination in the schools to separate the races, then prohibited such discrimination, and now sometimes requires discrimination in order to achieve racial balance." Despite the reluctance of Congress and even the Reagan Administration to curb the courts, Walters suggests that "It is hard to see how decisions that lack intellectual respectability and popular support can be maintained indefinitely." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Bess with its full measure of plangency and jazz mood.

James Collier has much to say about Louis Armstrong that is pertinent and perceptive. But you can find it all in the recordings—and more directly. □

FILM

OVERTHRILL

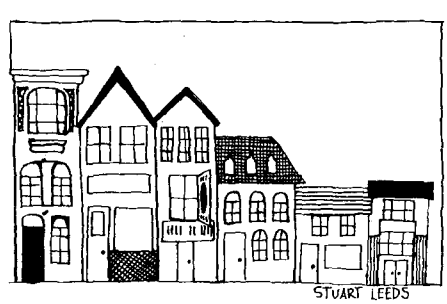
John Simon

How would you feel about someone who deliberately set about devaluating the thrill? Any kind of thrill—of giving or receiving, of new faces or places, of art or science or discovery. The thrill of love or sex, of food or games or good conversation. A film like *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* sets out to destroy, wantonly and stupidly, the thrill of moviegoing by the vulgar, simple-minded device of giving us nothing but thrills. The basic unit of the film is not an episode or scene or sequence of this sort or that, but sheerly the thrill—the spill, chill, kill, or near-kill, the scare or horror or even disgust. Unremitting, unrelenting, unmodulated thrills; shock upon shock, laced with cheap laughs. And all this not to be taken even movie-seriously, only movie-serially, in the manner of that silliest of defunct cinematic genres, the one- or two-reel serial.

George Lucas, who wrote the story; Willard Huyck and Gloria Katz, who concocted the script; and Steven Spielberg, who directed—these four were obviously determined to make the filmic equivalent of a nonstop roller-coaster ride (there is, in fact, a roller-coaster chase in mining cars), but one with no restful ups, only restlessly rocketing downs, ever lower in both senses of the word. What would a game of chess be like in which every move threatened checkmate? What would lovemaking be like if every second yielded orgasm? What about a long joke made up entirely of punchlines? Unspeakable horror, a kind even Mistah Kurtz had no inkling of. It's the sort of thing that makes you yearn for the respite of a fingernail belaboring a blackboard. And, of course, it is the kind of film several reviewers, led by Pauline Kael, have swooned over.

Indiana Jones is a prequel to the almost equally odious *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, and takes place in 1935, with that eminent archaeologist, Dr. Indiana Jones, in a Shanghai nightclub delivering a huge diamond to some murderous Oriental gangsters for a fee they try to welch on. What fun there was in the academic life a scant half-century ago! They poison him, and he must quickly ingest the antidote from a phial that keeps rolling away from him, while Willie, the tough chanteuse who just sang "Anything Goes" in Chinese and English, races after the equally elusive diamond. While all hell breaks out around them, Indy and Willie pursue their objectives through enough comic mayhem for an entire movie, never mind one reel. There is some wit in this nightclub scene, as when the diamond gets mixed up with ice cubes scattering across the dance floor amid the free-for-all—but such wit will become scarcer or heavier later on. Trying to mitigate the violence, it will only make it more tasteless.

I shan't try to summarize the ridiculous nonplot that takes Indy, Willie (with whom he keeps sparring), and Short Round, the little Chinese boy who is Indy's sidekick and frequent savior, to the Indian palace of Pankot, seat of an evil child maharajah abetted by horrific henchmen who have stolen some poor villagers' magic stone, not to mention their children. At the palace, our trio is treated to a banquet where the natives lap up squirming eels, baked giant beetles, chilled monkey brains to be scooped out of the creatures' cut-open skulls; when the sickened Willie asks for plain soup, she gets one with sheep eyeballs swimming around in it. After dinner Indy and Willie play some unconsummated sex games that may titillate backward 12-year-olds, and are presently beset with every kind of fiendish peril as they discover a secret passage leading to the temple of Kali, where human sacrifice by the still surviving (though, like everything else, highly inauthentic)



Thugs flourishes under a vicious high priest. The latter specializes in plucking out human hearts with his bare fingernails (Kali can do more than Revlon can), after which the poor, disheartened victims are heartlessly lowered, still living, into a fiery pit in a contraption that reminded Pauline Kael of a deep-fat frier. I am happy to say I've never had any truck with such a gadget, but will henceforth, in any case, opt for pan-frying.

In one scene Willie has to wade ankle-deep in crackling creepy-crawlies that combine the more endearing features of locusts, cockroaches, and tarantulas, and that, needless to say, get entangled in her hair. In another scene, both Indy and Short Round are whipped—as the enslaved children more or less regularly are—and Indy is forced to drink the "black blood," which on this film's nausea meter rates a mere imperfect nine, and thus becomes the high priest's thrall, doing his level best to help immolate Willie in the flaming furnace. And so on and on and on. And on. Harrison Ford seems to feel at home in Indiana, happily lolling on the banks of the hogwash; Kate Capshaw, as Willie, manages to dole out vulgarity and insipidity in judiciously equal doses; Ke Huy Quan is a cutely precocious Short Round, the sort of thing for which I have a short fuse. The cinematography is by Douglas Slocombe, a specialist in tinsel, who, as usual, held nothing back. And Spielberg has directed the material like a Thug going after his victim's throat. I award the film a rating of three and a half monkey's brains.

Why do people want to make movies out of novels that are not so famous as to ring the bell at the box office, yet well enough known to make their being turned inside out offensive to some? That is what was done to Bernard Malamud's *The Natural* (1952), a novel about the failure of American innocence, about the way natural talents and resources are corrupted, destroyed, and discarded. This has (so to speak) naturally been turned into a fable of success, of the ultimate triumph of semi-doltish purity. Roy Hobbs (Robert Redford), a great young pitcher, leaves his farm and childhood sweetheart (Glenn Close) to become, with the Chicago Cubs, the greatest player ever. The Chicago train stops at a country fair where this unknown,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with three pitches, strikes out The Whammer, the hitherto unchallenged King of Swat. Whereupon a psychotic young woman (Barbara Hershey) invites him by phone to her nocturnal hotel room and shoots him in the gut with a silver bullet. It is not clear whether she is a pathological hater of excellence, the emissary of dark powers, or a misguided fan of *Der Freischütz*.

Already Malamud's conceit is undercut. A Roy Hobbs who is as pure as the driven snow—or, better yet, as Robert Redford—would not keep such an obviously erotic assignation. It is true that Redford plays it like a veterinarian making a house call for a cranky millionaire's sick pet, but even so it makes no sense. Either the man is really randy, in which case he should convey that and give the scene some meaning; or he goes in a state of Prince Myshkin-like innocence, in which case he is worse than a natural —an idiot. Redford is not a bad actor when he lets himself go, but in this movie he does so only on the baseball diamond and treats all other venues as mere zircon: He becomes wary, even worried, like a catcher without a mask. Or perhaps a mask without a catcher.

After a hiatus of 15 years—which the movie eventually tries to explain, though it were better left unexplained —Roy comes back as a 36-year-old rookie for the New York Knights, who have taken to the cellar of the league like inveterate cave-dwellers. He now has to tangle with a web of evil from the owner of the club (Robert Prosky) and his tools: a corrupt bookie (Darren McGavin), his blonde mistress sicked on Roy (Kim Basinger), and a vile sports columnist (Robert Duvall) who dimly remembers Roy from before and wants to expose him. This is not unlike the hatred-of-genius theme that informs the book and movie versions of *The Fountainhead*, but not nearly so inadvertently funny. Roy also has to conquer the denseness of the team's manager (Wilford Brimley), who keeps him benched, and won't let the sympathetic coach (Richard Farnsworth) change his mind.

At this point the film, which started out with mythic overtones, goes megalomythomaniacal. In the beginning, Roy carved his bat from a lightning-struck tree; now the epic and quasi-supernatural elements start to proliferate like giant bunny rabbits. Good and evil work their antithetical wonders, but I shall cite only the most crudely obvious one. When our hero keeps striking out because of his liaison with the bad Miss Basinger, Glenn Close stands up behind the dugout. In a white dress and hat, she is shot with enough backlighting to keep a host of angels in spare haloes, and spreads a benediction that yields instant miracles. Barry Levinson, who here milks directorial effects brazenly—just as Caleb Deschanel does photographic ones—goes into slow motion at the drop of a bat, but that's the least of his tricks. The entire film seems to be forged from fool's gold, sparkling, radiating, deliquescing before our eyes.

Just as Roy seems to be dying from the effort to redeem himself at the end, the screen goes black, whereupon we are transported to a scene similar to one at the beginning. Now Redford, Miss Close (divorced from another man), and their boy (reunited with his true father) are tossing a baseball to one another in a sequence that looks like Norman Rockwell translated into heaven. The holy family's hair is as golden as the surrounding wheat, and there is enough saccharin in Miss Close's smile to sweeten all the decafs of the world. Add to this Randy Newman's "serious" music and you have, not Malamud's novel, but a sorry illustration of its theme. At the sight of so much affluent bliss, there's not a dry palm in the house. □

THE GIMLET EYE

KOCH

D. Keith Mano

THINK: what other prominent elected official—Democratic official at that —could say the following in front of two thousand people and get away with it?

"A word about Jimmy Carter. I happen to think he was one of the worst Presidents we've ever had. Probably worse than President *Fill*-more. It was not simply because he instructed that a vote against Israel on an unfair resolution be cast—it is that he didn't tell the *trooooth*. He tells me, 'I'—Carter—'I didn't know what was in the resolution. It was *Friday*.' What, he doesn't read on *Shabbes*? Now, when he asked me to help, I said to him, 'Oh, I'm gonna vote for you, Mr. President, I'm a Democrat. Listen, I voted for George McGovern, I HELD MY NOSE, still I voted for him. But I'm not gonna campaign.' [So Carter, at the last moment, modified his stand on federal takeover of Medicare, Jerusalem, offensive weaponry for Saudi Arabia. And Koch flew down to Miami as Jewish ambassador.] I said at the airport, 'Look, Carter changed his position. So that's why I'm here.' And a very smart reporter said, 'Why do you believe him?' And I said, 'If he's lying, may he ROT IN HELL.' And I wanna tell you, he was *ly-ing*."

There aren't diacritical marks, type faces, phonetic spellings enough for me to simulate on paper his preposterous, wailing-wall delivery. With such an adenoidal, pedagogic, no-treble-control voice you either teach phys. ed. at some vocational high school, shove your own gaucho pie cart around Brooklyn, or run for mayor of New York. His hands work the audience, *hondle* it—they cup, point, flap, jab, as if they were making a crank call to the deaf. Koch looks like the stork brought him (disinherited him, rather): bibcock nose, all gum-line grin, lunatic fringe of hair. Here, at Sutton Place Synagogue, only *his yarmulke* seems a lumberjack's cap, pulled down. Koch is, well, goofy-faced. And he has come to terms with it: his common sense, vitality, toughness, I think, derive from the mirror. JFK, say, saw other strategies there. *Kochleffl*, if I remember my Berlitz Yiddish, could mean "energizer, stirrer-up." Koch may be short for that. And 95 per cent of what he'll say tonight is right as atomic clocks.

The rabbi moderator has asked, Would Koch support Jesse Jackson for Vice President? "Well, firstly, it ain't gonna happen." But if it did, Koch couldn't back Irreverend Jackson because of his anti-Semitic slurs. (By inference, even holding his considerable nose, Koch wouldn't vote for a Mondale or Hart who had chosen Jackson.) On the question of racial quotas Koch is right and Right. This, in a city where black and Hispanic have threatened to poke-check him next election. "I'm against racial quotas. I'm against the synonyms for racial quotas which happen to be 'goals, timetables, and sanctions.' Because if you don't meet the goal, then they sock it to you. I believe you end discrimination.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I don't believe you create new *reverse* discrimination."

This is Dominican Republic divorce time for Jew and black. Don't tell me we aren't all secretly delighted. (Darling, I never *did* understand what those two saw in each other.) That shotgun arrangement was always as unnatural as a tuxedo and slipper socks. Now Jackson-Farrakhan have taken it off the heart-lung machine. Many Jewish people supported Black Lib to truss their guilt (and to launder certain liberal-socialist-technocratic schemes). The black thought he could hoe cash and political thonk out of his Jewish Brethren. Now Jackson can support PLO policies. And—what pleasure—we can all call our first serious black presidential candidate a *racist.* The release is almost sexual.

For other reasons I'd circumcise my spirit and become Jewish. Koch is allowed to be blunter than a toe shoe about the USSR. Told that some poor Soviet rabbi spoke against U.S. rallies for Russian Jewry, he has this answer: "The Soviet Union, as. cruel as it is, as fanatical, as despotic, will respond ultimately to public opinion. Now when that rabbi, who, I assume, has to go back to that Gulag known as the Soviet Union, tells us that it isn't helpful—you have to understand that he is a pri-so-ner in that country, as is every person who lives there. If they opened their gates freely nobody would be left." Let Reagan say that and he'd turn into egg-drop soup on the *New York Times* editorial page. But Koch can praise General Sharon, can even insist that "America should have more generals like him," and still win reelection next year in this liberal Democratic metropolis.

Koch has the arrogance of a meter maid: brash, scolding, egotistical, all New York. It's his noblest quality. He can brag about getting 75 per cent of the vote last time around. "If Lindsay was such a bringer-together, how come he received just 42 per cent?" Koch has built more housing for poor people than any other mayor. Unemployment in New York is at a ten-year low. On and on. "This town is *so much* better off than it was in prior administrations." What other pol would dictate his intimate journal, then publish it while still *mayor*? (He made Jimmy Carter "turn grey," Congressman Rangel "sweat," and Herman Badillo "twitch.") "It's been on the best-seller list for 13 weeks. Eight of those, I think, at #1. Next week I'm at #7, but that's because of Erma Bombeck's book. I'm on a slide." Humor, most of all, corroborates his assurance. Nothing is more boastful than kind self-mockery. In politicians we detest not ego (that you expect) but false humbleness. The meek will inherit the earth because no one would elect them. As for Koch: "I want to be mayor forever."

He isn't presidential wallboard, of course: we'd be running our cars on derma and chicken fat the day after his inauguration. But, to say truth, there is (with one exception) no better or better-placed conservative office-holder in America. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Portable Edmund Wilson, edited by Lewis M. Dabney (Penguin, 647 pp., $6.95)

THE IDEA of a Viking Portable devoted to the work of Edmund Wilson was first mooted some three decades ago; Malcolm Cowley was to have been the editor, and Wilson himself drew up a proposed table of contents. Lewis M. Dabney, a professor at the University of Illinois, has finally been entrusted with the job, and his cross-section of "the essential Wilson" takes in most of the high points: the young Wilson on Eliot and Joyce, the great "psychobiographical" essays on Dickens and Hemingway, a substantial chunk of *Patriotic Gore*, an attractive sampling of the straight journalism and the endlessly fascinating correspondence. One does miss such choice specimens of Wilson in a curmudgeonly (and wrong-headed) mood as, say, "Splendors and Miseries of Evelyn Waugh" or "Who Cares Who Killed Roger Ackroyd?" Still, Mr. Dabney has managed to give us a decently representative anthology of this quintessentially American man of letters; one suspects that Wilson, himself a pretty fair anthologist, would have been satisfied with the results.

SAUL GOODWIN

More Collected Short Stories, by V. S. Pritchett (Random House, 276 pp., $17.95)

WE MAY soon lose the short story in the same way that obscure varieties of fauna become extinct—for want of a habitat. Except for a very few magazines like *The New Yorker*, the short story has nowhere to live. Which makes one savor the late offerings of one of the form's great masters all the more. V. S. Pritchett is that modern rarity, a truly accomplished man of letters, a travel writer, memoirist, biographer, and critic as well as a brilliant producer of short fiction. One uses the term short fiction advisedly. One of the best things about his work is the lack of trick endings of the Maugham, Fitzgerald, or Chesterton variety, which, while invariably clever, have little to do with either life or art, reducing plot resolution to the level of a jigsaw puzzle. In 24 distinctively different but almost uniformly good stories, Mr. Pritchett repeatedly proves that brevity need not force the author to gadgetry—that character and insight (plus a generous amount of nonmalicious, humorous irony) can be infused into a good short story as well as a novel. He is now well into his eighties; one hopes he still has more to tell us, and the time to do it. ARAM BAKSHIAN JR.

THE GREAT UNIVERSITIES

provided the ground for the important political leaders, philosophers, theologians, scientists, lawyers, poets, and religious of the past.

Our college program is based on the Humanities as discerned in the great books of Western civilization and as seen through the eyes of the Christian humanist.

THOMAS MORE INSTITUTE OF LIBERAL ARTS

FOR CATALOGUE AND BROCHURE WRITE TO:

DR. PETER V. SAMPO
Thomas More Institute of Liberal Arts
One Manchester Street
Merrimack, N.H. 03054

PLEASE SEND ME INFORMATION ABOUT THIS PROGRAM

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP .....

TELEPHONE .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SHROVE TUESDAY

NEW YORK, JUNE 6

THE RETURNS on Wednesday morning deny Walter Mondale a conclusive hold on the majority he needs, but enough of the inertial vote is all but certainly his sometime between now and San Francisco. What Mr. Mondale most needs right now is a good long rest. He will, to all appearances, have a very long rest waiting for him at the far end of election day in November, but right now he simply has to stop and catch his breath. During the final days of his campaign in California he was heard to denounce President Reagan for "adding insult to energy," which, by the way, ought to be the motto of our Department of Energy. But never mind, because Walter Mondale went on to tell the crowd that he saw a "great grass movement" in California.

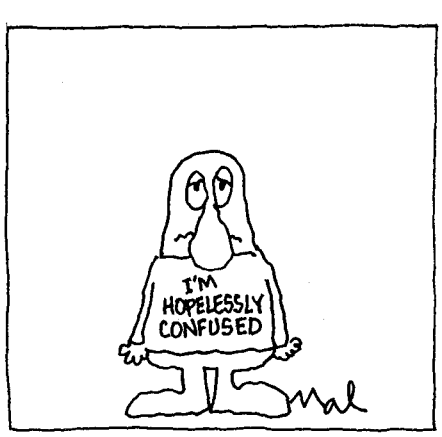
Meg Greenfield, in *Newsweek*, counsels us all to be more relaxed than we are, weighing the pillow fight being waged among the three Democratic contenders. Although she admits that, "True, this year may have set a record. For although every campaign culminates in one candidate's demanding that another apologize to someone—senior citizens, the South, the unemployed, the American people—this must be the first time a campaign has ended with a call for someone to apologize to New Jersey." Gary Hart's apology to New Jersey, if ever it was tendered, clearly did not work for him, since New Jersey went heavily for Mondale, presumably in retaliation for Gary Hart's statement that all things considered he would rather be in California than in New Jersey, a disastrous flirtation with candor for which the candidate is being suitably punished.

Meanwhile, Jesse Jackson goes about like Moses being cheated by the infidels of the promised land. If he reaches deep into his trunkful of complaints, it comes down to this, that while he has won 20 per cent of the votes, he has won only 7 per cent of the delegates. He would have us think that this is an exercise in unadulterated racism, sexism, Zionism, and Strangelovism. He has not paused to explain that if he had not been black, but quite the opposite, the arithmetic would still have worked out that way—ask George Wallace, who in 1972 won 23.5 per cent of the vote and 12.5 per cent of the delegates. The point necessarily arrives, in a democracy, when the winner takes all. Ronald Reagan won 51 per cent of the vote in 1980, but occupies 100 per cent of the White House.

Jesse Jackson, you will remember, traveled recently to Mexico, so that his denunciations of his native country would find less parochial echo chambers, and of course he has promised to visit Cuba, and Nicaragua: to which one hopes he will add North Korea, North Vietnam, and South Yemen. A thoughtful correspondent sends along a clipping from *El Heraldo* in Mexico, which quotes one or two statements made by Reverend Jackson to the reporters and legislators in Mexico that escaped the notice of our own press. "The North American visitor," the dispatch reads, "said that the undocumented Mexicans"—that is Mexican for illegals—"because of the work they perform, reduce their life span by 25 years." That is Mr. Jackson's contribution to the problem of illegal immigration.

But Mr. Jackson knows how to get front-page attention, and he doesn't need the kind of backdrop Ronald Reagan was getting the day or two surrounding the primaries. On the eve of the vote, CBS complained that whoever won on that primary day, he was bound to be eclipsed by Ronald Reagan. During the period in question Mr. Reagan would be photographed in an Irish pub named after him, driving into Buckingham Palace for lunch with the Queen, dining with Mrs. Thatcher, attending an economic summit, and visiting Normandy. "The White House insisted there was no conscious attempt by the President to plan his trip so as to pre-empt public attention away from the Democratic primaries," one commentator said, you-can't-fool-me written clearly over his face. We are left to infer that on June 6, 1944, General Dwight Eisenhower launched an invasion of France knowing that forty years later it would be commemorated on the same day the Democratic primary results came through in California, wiping them off the television screen. A prescient general, Ike. Not many people would have thought that far ahead.

So: On to San Francisco. May the best man lose. In fact, he—they—already have. □



WHAT'S GOING ON?

NEW YORK, JUNE 8

RONALD REAGAN should take more seriously than recently he has done the charge by his critics that he is all theater. Granted that his critics will take any opportunity to disparage any achievement of Mr. Reagan. If he discovered the Fountain of Eternal Youth, Claude Pepper would accuse him of adding to the burdens of the elderly. Still, the stunt in Nicaragua on Friday last is not defended by Reagan's friends with a straight face.

Two factors stand out. Consider, first, the easy one. Secretary of State Shultz was in El Salvador to celebrate an extraordinary event, pivotal to our geopolitical strategy, namely the advent of democracy in San Salvador. That was to have been the center last week of our hemispheric diplomatic arrangements. But the same President who did not stop in Taiwan for a visit with a friend on the way back to the United States from a state visit to the Communist behemoth in Mainland China, authorized Mr. Shultz to stop by, on the way back from El Salvador, in a country that President Reagan has been telling us most eloquently, for lo these many months, is engaged in trying to topple this newborn

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

democracy. It was almost certain that no diplomatic démarche was going to issue from that stopover in Nicaragua. It was absolutely certain that it would crowd President Duarte's inauguration into the rotogravure sections of the press. The lead story was: SHULTZ PAUSES FOR DRAMATIC STOPOVER IN CAPITAL OF ENEMY COUNTRY.

What happened? The reason Mr. Reagan (instructed?) (authorized?) (grudgingly consented to?) the stopover in Nicaragua was, according to speculation:

1. Opposition to Reagan in Ireland focused on Reagan's intransigence, so wouldn't it be a marvelous idea, just as he was landing in Ireland, to give evidence of precisely the opposite? Namely, that at no point in any engagement is Mr. Reagan unwilling to stop for a little diplomatic shuffleboard with the enemy?

Or, 2. Mexico. According to this version, President de la Madrid had said to Reagan: "Look. You must try out the Contadora Approach. We believe that if only you will renew your diplomatic initiatives with Nicaragua, you will achieve those diplomatic ends we all seek." So, in order to show de la Madrid that he is willing to try the limp wrist again, Mr. Reagan does as bidden—authorizing his Secretary of State to pause at Nicaragua for a visit that is 100 per cent public relations (serious diplomatic business is not transacted in airport visits conducted under klieg lights).

What Mr. Reagan is neglecting is his serious supporters. I do not mean here to be making a partisan point—there are many Democrats who are devoted anti-Communists. Mr. Reagan has said that the behavior of Nicaragua during the past three years is inexplicable except in the context of its determination to run any risk, endure any sacrifice, in order to further its objective. This is to bring chaos to Central America en route to Marxist totalitarianism. The conceit that a will, set on that purpose, is going to be deflated by an hour's visit with Secretary Shultz at the capital airport undermines the seriousness of Reagan's analysis of the objectives of the Sandinistas, confirmed by the bipartisan findings of the Kissinger Commission. What is undermined by such initiatives is not the Sandinistas, but Congress: and the many Americans who are tempted to reconsider. Well, they will say—they are saying—if the Sandinistas are merely a group you handle by a little Gemütlichkeit at the airport, what, really, is there to get so excited about?

Ronald Reagan is keenly aware of the most important reservoir of American strength. It is our moral perception: that we live in a dangerous world, in which live and hungry ideologues plan and scheme against human freedom and democracy. We all agree that our Presidents need to go to places like Peking and say pleasant things about unpleasant regimes. But if Mr. Reagan wants a serious constituency, he must be serious about diplomatic frolics in Nicaragua at a time when he seeks to galvanize a hard resolution against the totalitarians who are running that country, torturing and killing dissenters, and laboring to subvert its democratic neighbors. □

TRACKING THE SLURS

NEW YORK, JUNE 20

SOME MONTHS AGO, the *Washington Post*'s Lou Cannon complained that the press was being "too fair" to Ronald Reagan. He will probably be embarrassed for the rest of his life by that amusing complaint, it being generally understood that there is no such thing as being "too fair," any more than one balks in striving for perfection in any of the virtues ("too kind"? "too compassionate"? "too wise"?). The boys put it down to a Freudian slip. Lou Cannon does not like it that, after three years, the media have not succeeded in portraying Ronald Reagan to the American people as an unpleasant man for the same reason that they would not attempt to represent a square circle. I am not suggesting the press conspires to do this to Reagan. I am suggesting there are those who would like to see it done.

Some while ago a demonstrably civilized gentleman from Abilene, Texas, wrote to say that a columnist had written, "Ronald Reagan utters lies by the dozen, and prospers the more for it. Lou Cannon of the *Washington Post* [collects these lies]. His latest lie was typical. It came from nowhere, to please his immediate audience. Last month, Reagan told Simon Wiesenthal and Rabbi Marvin Hier that he was a member of the Army Signal Corps filming the [concentration camps]. . . . this was, of course, a lie. Reagan never served as a Signal Corps photographer. He did not go to the death camps when they were open . . . He made it up on the spot."

This correspondent, inured to the ideological stridency of the columnist in question, reveals he is not inclined to believe him. Still, "something grabs me in the gut when I read columns [that] seem to be presenting facts."

So, what happened?

At the meeting in question, there were several people present. They included Secretary of State Shultz, White House advisor Marshall Breger, and Rabbi Marvin Hier, who is the dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

The next day, Joanne Omang of the *Washington Post* phoned Marshall Breger and asked was it true that President Reagan had represented himself as a Signal Corps photographer who had taken pictures of the concentration camps? No, Breger said: The President had said that he had seen such films, taken by the unit to which he was attached, and that the films had made a lasting impression on him. Secretary Shultz confirmed that this was what he had heard. Mr. Marty Mendelssohn, counsel for the Simon Wiesenthal Center, contacted Rabbi Hier in Los Angeles, who confirmed that this was what he had heard. The confusion was attributed to the insecure English of Mr. Wiesenthal. Miss Omang published the correct story in the *Washington Post*. And a few weeks later Lou Cannon published his own version, which conflicted with the news story in his own paper.

The columnist made it sound as though Reagan simply comes up with these improvisations, as useful theatrically. The White House released a videotape, no less, of an appearance by the President in the East Room on April 30, 1981, at a Days of Remembrance Ceremony. Said the President:

"I remember April '45. I remember seeing the first film that came in when the war was still on, but our troops had come upon the first camps, and had entered those camps. And you saw unretouched, no way that it could ever have been rehearsed, what they saw. Well, I am horrified today when I know that, and hear that there are actually people now trying to say that the Holocaust was invented."

There is, of course, nothing there to suggest that the films Mr. Reagan viewed were taken by Mr. Reagan, who never left the United States during the war, and has never represented that he did.

But slurs of this kind have an effect on people of sensitive moral conscience. "Personally," my correspondent wrote, "I know nothing about the facts behind [the columnist's] statements. Perhaps he is right . . . What bothers me, and this is where I am looking to you for guidance, is whether or not I should support a candidate because he is conservative at the expense of moral considerations such as lying. . . . Can you tell me if he really does things like this regularly? If he does, do you approve? Is it 'just politics?' "

To which three questions: 1) No. 2) No, I would not approve. 3) The politics being played here is by the critics of Mr. Reagan, who are determined not to be too fair to him. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Employment Opportunities

CONSERVATIVE LAWYER wanted by Detroit firm. Age or experience immaterial. Write NR Box 3922.

EDITOR/WRITER—Newsletter publisher seeks freelance, libertarian editor/writer for a monthly financial newsletter aimed at entrepreneurs. Experience with hard-money investments and small-business wealth-building is a must. Write NR Box 3921.

Situations Wanted

SINGLE EXPECTANT MOTHER, 34, seeks long-term writing or editing assignment in return for housing, medical insurance, and stipend. Experienced print reporter, M.A. in English. Reply to NR Box 3877.

ATTORNEY, TWO YEARS' EXPERIENCE (Illinois), excellent academics, witty, longs for front lines of conservative Christian activism. Confident of Lord's purpose, will be asset to foundation, firm, poli-sci department, or publisher. Will relocate. Write NR Box 3923.

CONSERVATIVE ECONOMIST/FINANCIAL EXECUTIVE seeks creative position in industry, government, or academia. Defense industry background. Write: P.O. Box 142, Old Greenwich, Conn. 06870.

Services

PEMBROKE HUCKINS, MARINE SURVEYOR. Serving Eastern U.S. Inspection of yachts and commercial vessels for insurance condition and value; loss or damage; prepurchase; estimates of repair; expert witness; consultation. Henry County, Va. 703-650-3434.

FINANCIAL INFORMATION RESEARCH: For details, contact RJP Associates, 634 South Street, Elizabeth, N.J. 07202.

SOLE OWNERS of small businesses, consultants, etc. Do your own bookkeeping in less than 2 hours per month. Send $7.50 to NR Box 3895.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: $1.00 per word, minimum 10 words, plus $2.25 for box number. Frequency discounts: 4 times, 90¢ per word; 6 times, 85¢ per word; 8 times or more, 80¢ per word. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 35 days before cover date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address Classified Director, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

TRANSLATIONS: All languages, all subjects. Accurate, fast service. Boston Translation Company, 617-424-0033.

Vacation

WILDERNESS CABIN, 2 bedrooms, fireplace, huge white pines, 5 acres, 600' shoreline, sand beach, fishing, X-C skiing, sleeps 5. 4220 London Road, Duluth, Minn. 55804. 218-525-4485.

CAPE COD: Charming private host homes. 30 choice outer-Cape locations. For reservations: Orleans Bed and Breakfast Associates, Box 1312NR, Orleans, Mass. 02653. 617-255-3824. Brochure.

PUERTO RICO. El Prado Inn (1350 Luchetti, San Juan 00907). Central, sophisticated, affordable. Pool, sundeck, private baths. $40 double, $30 single. Write, or dial direct 809-728-5925.

Educational Opportunities

MEDICAL AND VETERINARY SCHOOL vacancies available in Chilean university. For information write O'Connor's Medical School Placement, P.O. Box 40112, Washington, D.C. 20016-0812. Telephone 202-686-6922.

LEARN SPANISH FAST! Easiest, most effective course available. Practical, exciting new method. We specialize in Spanish-language training. Maytext, Dept. 8-F, Box 2497, Riviera, Ariz. 86442.

Financial

DO YOU HAVE CREDIT problems? Been turned down for VISA/Mastercard and others? Divorced? Bad credit? Slow credit? Bankrupt? No problem! Let us help you receive major credit cards and re-establish your credit rating. Free information sent within 8 hours. Call Easy Credit (toll free) 24 hours. 800-241-8003, Credit Dept. 939. Call now!

Literary

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. NRE, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

DURO, A SLOVAK IMMIGRANT, arrives in 1912 to make his fortune in America and takes you back to those halcyon days when horses and wagons outnumbered autos in *A Taste of Red Onion*. Fact or fiction? You be the judge. Postpaid: $8.95, Rainbow Books, P.O. Box 1069, Moore Haven, Fla. 33471.

OUT-OF-PRINT search service: favorite titles and needed sources found. Booklore, Box 318, Sunman, Ind. 47041-0318.

PRE-PUBLICATION SPECIAL. Mark McCormack's *What They Don't Teach You at Harvard Business School*. Bantam hardcover. Shipping August. $15 postpaid. Junction Books, 822 Lincoln, DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

WIT KIT. A book of unconventional wisdom. $4. Cullen Hightower, P.O. Box 747, Shalimar, Fla. 32579.

BILL RICKENBACKER's funny, warm accounts of life on his Yankee farm; subscribe to *The Berry Patch Letters*. Twelve issues, $9 a year. Box 158, West Boxford, Mass. 01885.

FREE BOOK SEARCHING. Send requests. No obligation. Bazaar Books, Box 496, Chico, Calif. 95927.

For Sale

BUSINESS CARDS: 1,000 only $19.95. Johnson's, 4579 Tulane, Erie, Pa. 16506. Samples, send S.A.S.E.

BAGPIPES: $95 and up. Mideastco, 2817 Cameron Street, Melbourne, Fla. 32901.

IF IBM MADE IT, and you want to buy or sell it for the best price, call Fred Entriken, 800-752-7001 ext. 808 or 214-826-6165. Computer Clearing, 2546 Rampart Street, Dallas, Tex. 75235.

Gourmet

RECIPES, African and French: 6 delicious, inexpensive, nutritious recipes. Easy to prepare. Send $3 to: Y. M. Recipes, 505 Fifth Avenue, Suite 1003, New York, N.Y. 10017.

RECIPES MY MOTHER NEVER taught me . . . a collection of recipes you'll cherish. Send $4 to Recipes, 3017 Santa Monica Blvd., #261-NR, Santa Monica, Calif. 90404.

POPCORN RECIPES: Twelve super gourmet popcorn ideas! Send $3 to Gourmet Popcorn, P.O. Box 26B16, Los Angeles, Calif. 90026.

GRAMMA DAR'S MUSTARD RECIPE. Send $1 and S.A.S.E. to D. Hartwig, SRA 6229-Z, Palmer, Alaska 99645.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

[RUSSELL] SHANNON:

Re Individual Freedom

"What is an apple?" . . . Apples are different things to different people. . . . For growers they are a source of profits; for cooks the basis of pies; for students a gift to teachers. Spelled with a capital A, they are now a vibrant force in the . . . computer industry! [Actual title: *Constitutional Restraints, the Market Economy, and Individual Freedom.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SIX COOL, REFRESHING drink recipes. Send $3 and S.A.S.E. to: "The Corner," Box 363, Pembina, N.D. 58271.

TASTY POTATO SALAD—but not for the faint-stomached. $2 plus S.A.S.E. brings recipe. Box 11128, Arlington, Va. 22210.

Wanted

PAINTINGS WANTED—We wish to purchase fine American and European paintings. Armbruster Fine Arts, 1316 Fargo, Chicago, Ill. 60626. 312-743-7644.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

CLEVER BLONDE IN L.A. seeks attractive, witty fellow, 27-40, for fun, romance, and stimulating conversation. Should not be averse to horror movies, chili burgers, friendly insults, cats, dogs, cigarette smoke, or reality. Send photo! Write NR Box 3917.

CONSERVATIVE CATHOLIC LAWYER, 35, enjoys politics, coaching baseball, tennis, running, theater, dining adventures, seeks petite, happy, right-wing conservative, physically active female seeking a guy like me. Send photo. Write NR Box 3918.

HANDSOME, ATHLETIC NYC WASP, 41; warm, successful, good-humored. Enjoys squash, skiing, theater. Interested in meeting slim, gentle, fun woman, 25-33. Phone and photo please. Write NR Box 3914.

MILITARY OFFICER, 40, Nashville area, physically and mentally fit, favors substance over form, seeks active woman interested in sports, outdoors, and sharing. Write NR Box 3919.

DALLAS MALE, 42, Christian, seeks non-smoking woman unencumbered with children, who enjoys sports, dancing, theater, outdoors. Object: lifemate! Write NR Box 3892.

DETROIT AREA OBJECTIVIST CONSERVATIVE, young-looking 32, likes books, films, baseball, wants to meet witty, intelligent woman, 24-32. Write NR Box 3920.

MEET PEOPLE who enjoy music, theater, literature, art. Confidential list. Write: The Cultured Network, P.O. Box 1307, New York, N.Y. 10023.

AN INTELLIGENT WAY to meet others. For hobbies, sports, correspondence, friendship, vacations, use our Exchange to contact others nearby or worldwide. Electronic Exchange, P.O. Box 68-N1, Manhattan Beach, Calif. 90266.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. Write CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

SOPHISTICATED SCANDINAVIANS seek enlightened correspondence and lasting relationships. Details: Scanna-NR, Box 4, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534.

TRADITIONAL ANGLICAN WOMAN, with a penchant for horseback riding, large dogs, Ogden Nash, and New Orleans, seeks correspondence with tall gentleman, 31-38. Write NR Box 3906.

OLDER PROFESSIONAL WOMAN, classical musician, youthful, financially independent, loves travel, concerts and opera, climbing in the Alps. Concerned about social issues. Values honesty, sensitivity, and sense of humor. Seeks friend of opposite sex aged 58-70. Write NR Box 3886.

FEMININE FEMALE, 25, petite, optimistic, benevolent, cheerful. Interests: locomotives, clocks, epistemology. Desires mature, steadfast, chivalrous gentleman. DAV welcome. Charly, Box 12335, Tucson, Ariz. 85732-2335.

INTELLECTUAL, INDEPENDENT professional male, with charm, wit, and vitality. Enjoys Colorado skiing, wilderness areas, travel, music, literature, and life. Seeking sensitive, intellectually and physically active female, 30-50, non-smoker, for adventure and romantic involvement. Send photo. Write NR Box 3902.

SMILING, BLUE-EYED GEORGETOWN, D.C. nurse, 34, warm and caring outlook, loves movies, cooking, gardening, good friends, seeks tall, traditionally minded male companion. Write NR Box 3910.

SUPER ACHIEVERS CLUB—Overachieving? Are you a(n) M.D., J.D., Ph.D., M.A., talented artist, entrepreneur, etc? 212-267-5758; 160 West 71st Street, New York, N.Y. 10023.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets the cultured single, widowed, or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970—3,000 members. Box AE, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081. 215-566-2132.

ATTRACTIVE PROFESSIONAL FEMALE, 27, who enjoys swimming, nature, travel, and intelligent conversation, seeks the acquaintance of conservative, intelligent, never-married gentleman, 27-34, who appreciates old-fashioned moral values. Include photo with reply. NR Box 3912.

Miscellaneous

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. For personal report send sample, age, and $20 to Alice Charlesworth, Box 41, Forest Park, Dayton, Ohio 45405.

PREDICT GOOD, BAD DAYS. Year's biorhythm graphs, analysis. Send birthdate, $7.95: Trac Research, Box 3352, Kingston, N.Y. 12401.

INVENTIONS, IDEAS, new products wanted for presentation to industry and exhibition at national technology exposition. Call 800-528-6050. In Arizona call 800-352-0458, ext. 831.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. Send full page of writing and $20 to Elisabeth King, 121 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

STRESS MANAGEMENT MANUAL. A book to do, not read. A compendium of catalysts for more cheer, less wear. $12.98 including tax. MM Communications, Dept. 100N, 8532 Commonwealth, Buena Park, Calif. 90621.

Subscription Service

TO SUBSCRIBE OR RENEW:

☐ New subscription
☐ Renewal
☐ Payment enclosed
☐ Bill me
☐ 1 year $29.00 (U.S.A.)
☐ 1 year $35.25 U.S. currency (Canada and all other foreign)

Initial here ____

CHANGE OF ADDRESS AND RENEWAL:

Please attach the mailing label from the front cover when writing about service or change of address. Allow 3 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

Name ____
Address ____
City ____ State ____ Zip ____

MAIL TO: National Review, Readers Service, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

NR CLASSIFIED ADS

Rates: $1.00 per word $2.25 for NR box number

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

Pay for two ads—get a third ad FREE. Advance payment (minimum 2 ads)

Enclosed $ ____

Mail to:
Classified Director
National Review
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

AD COPY:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. This stood in a New England village — 13 88 22 162 160 185

B. An expensive mount (2 words) — 42 158 145 1 178 2 127 98 112

C. Imperative — 120 17 164 100 126 148

D. One of Shakespeare's *feuding families* — 124 27 139 80 101 159 143 70 44

E. A violation of one of the Commandments — 128 166 169 10 192 52 180 14

F. He got better results from a bath than a Frenchman two millennia later — 153 157 26 122 108 93 135 23 146 167

G. The Roman emperor at the time of the Crucifixion — 141 28 118 94 115 40 50 60

H. Tennessee city made famous by a train — 86 53 5 177 30 36 91 104 119 129 183

I. U.S. ambassador to Germany (1922-25) and to Great Britain (1925-29) — 31 49 16 207 65 43 165 95

J. The Apostle Paul wrote to the people of this city, and Shakespeare wrote about them — 54 69 130 11 97 151 79

K. Assessed anew — 59 20 171 190 90 199 7 32 105 78 25

L. Food sold at baseball games — 175 24 209 152 150 195 73

M. One of the big leagues — 61 4 149

N. Similar to a disembodied spirit — 110 182 114 132 83 6 46 102 202

O. An exorbitant tax levied upon certain machinery? (2 words) — 134 58 66 154 196 37 187 51 203

P. A prizefighter defeated by Joe Louis in 1939 (*nickname and surname*) — 33 45 55 174 87 103 121 138 29 136 144 176 72 191 85 131 140

Q. Surname of three British poets, two brothers and a sister, who all had good posture — 142 12 96 3 35 71 168

R. Touched upon — 156 9 123 184 56 63 74

S. An island in the Truk archipelago — 19 204 64 197 75

T. Part of a buggy or an automobile (pl.) — 137 117 21 48 172 186 189 206 62 68

U. Where henpecked husbands live — 116 18 41 57 163 173 107 155 147

V. The first of two words naming a state in India — 205 76 133 8 34

W. A sand bar in a river — 47 198 113 188 84 106 193

X. Prominent — 77 89 99 208 39 161 125 109 181

Y. Grew out of — 82 170 15 111 201 179 92

Z. A prominent bridge player — 38 200 194 67 81

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 56 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

	1 B	2 B	3 Q		4 M	5 H	6 N	7 K	8 V	9 R	10 E	11 J		12 Q	13 A		14 E	15 Y	16 I
17 C		18 U	19 S	20 K	21 T	22 A	23 F	24 L	25 K		26 F	27 D	28 G	29 P		30 H	31 I	32 K	33 P
	34 V	35 Q	36 H	37 O	38 Z		39 X	40 G	41 U	42 B	43 I	44 D		45 P	46 N	47 W	48 T	49 I	50 G
51 O		52 E	53 H	54 J		55 P	56 R	57 U	58 O	59 K		60 G	61 M	62 T	63 R		64 S	65 I	66 O
67 Z		68 T	69 J	70 D	71 Q	72 P	73 L		74 R	75 S	76 V	77 X	78 K	79 J		80 D	81 Z	82 Y	
83 N	84 W	85 P		86 H	87 P	88 A	89 X	90 K	91 H	92 Y	93 F	94 G	95 I	96 Q	97 J		98 B	99 X	100C
101D	102N		103P	104H	105K		106W		107U	108F	109X	110N	111Y	112B		113W	114N	115G	116U
	117T	118G	119H	120C	121P		122F	123R	124D	125X	126C		127B	128E	129H	130J	131P	132N	
133V	134O	135F	136P		137T	138P		139D	140P	141G		142Q	143D	144P	145B	146F	147U	148C	
149M	150L	151J		152L	153F	154O	155U		156R		157F	158B	159D	160A	161X		162A	163U	
164C	165I	166E	167F		168Q	169E	170Y	171K		172T	173U	174P		175L	176P	177H	178B	179Y	180E
	181X	182N	183H	184R		185A	186T	187O		188W	189T	190K	191P		192E		193W	194Z	195L
196O		197S	198W		199K	200Z	201Y	202N		203O	204S	205V	206T		207I	208X	209L		

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Vivid and engrossing"

—WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Photograph by Bachrach

"A lively, candid, autobiographical account of the modern conservative movement. It reads with the ease that only a polished writer can accomplish."

—PHILIP CRANE (R., Ill.), U.S. House of Representatives, Former Chairman, American Conservative Union

"An insightful and comprehensive history . . . All the more authoritative because it is written by one of the architects of the conservative movement."

—PAUL LAXALT (R., Nev.), U.S. Senate, General Chairman of the Republican Party

"Excellent . . . No one in America understands more clearly than Bill Rusher, or has articulated more consistently than he, the growth, the ethics, the conflicts, the cohesiveness, the inner secrets, and the philosophies of American conservatism. This book is the culmination of a brilliant understanding of the American right."

—ORRIN HATCH (R., Utah), U.S. Senate

THE RISE OF THE RIGHT

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

William Morrow
105 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"We live in a world in which strength on the part of peace-loving nations is still the greatest deterrent to aggression."

President Harry S. Truman
Annual Address to Congress—January 6, 1947

A strong national defense has always been the most certain guarantee of peace and freedom.

While the definition of necessary levels of defense may be debated, knowledgeable men and women hold the fundamental need for national security to be self-evident.

It is apparent that an adequate national defense cannot be achieved without the resources to develop the most advanced military technology. An intelligent defense must also include a balanced supply of the equipment that is most necessary to turn aside any hostile force.

We are fortunate in that we can—with confidence—depend on America's armed forces to defend our freedom. However, these dedicated men and women do need our support. Grass roots patriotism, which is never out of fashion, is an important part of America's inner strength.

Lockheed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED